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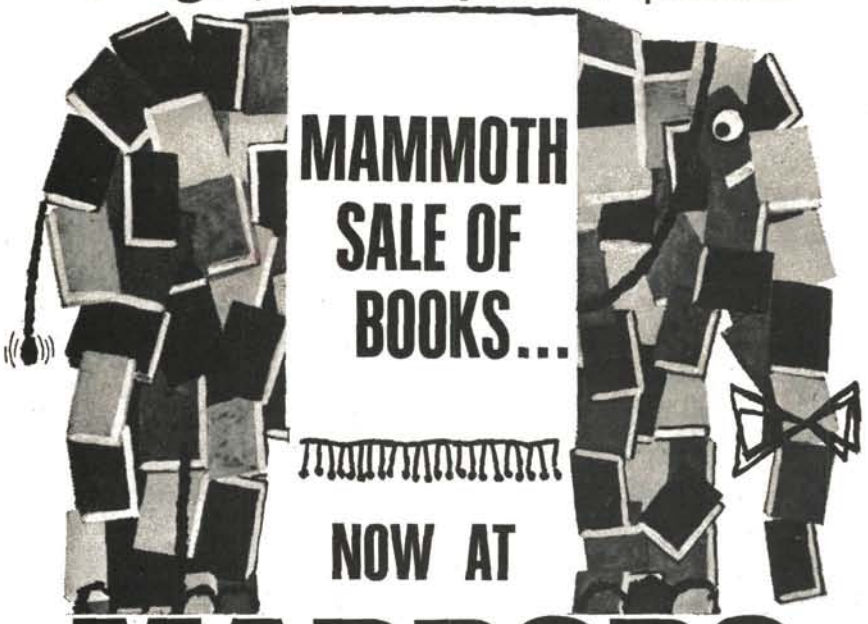

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All Out

★ It's been a queer war till now. Not really many people touched by it. Oh, a family here and there; but mostly, the upper-class boys just stayed longer in colleges and the lower classes – you know, the Negroes and so on – some of them were glad to get regular meals and steady pay. There were risks in the ghetto, too. Anyway, poor people don't cut much ice with politicians.

There hasn't been much patriotic back-biting and name-calling. Not much sense of personal commitment either. It is a headline war; you get some good action shots on TV, as lively as a sports event, but only sporadically; you tune in on the radio at night for latest word on escalation and like as not get a baseball game! Corporations get fat contracts, naturally, but not enough to prevent a business lull. The cost of Vietnam is only three percent of gross national product (about one-third of Korea), nothing that the richest nation on earth can't afford to laugh at. It has had one good effect, though, it is a fine argument for cutting back extravagant federal proposals for the poor.

People of taste rejoice that there is so little patrioteering. Most folks dislike the war and are not afraid to say so; they aren't apathetic, either, they come right out and admit they wish the whole thing over; it irks them to see those pictures of yellow mothers holding maimed children (50,000 civilian casualties a year). It is a lot easier, and better, not to think about it.

Now comes General Westmoreland and we think all this is going to change. By accident or design, he arrives as the war goes all-out. In March, 77,000 tons of bombs were dropped; the Associated Press has figured this out as 3,000 pounds a minute around the clock; anyway, that is a lot for a small country; at the peak of World War II it was 80,000 tons a month but that was on half of Europe. President Johnson appears to be taking a tremendous gamble. He is discounting Peking and Moscow. He's going to win the war before the election.

Senator Young (D, Ohio) says that when he was in South Vietnam, Gen. Westmoreland told him that the bulk of the Viet Cong were born in the South, and Gen. Richard Stillwell told him that 80 percent of the Viet Cong fighting men in the Mekong Delta (south and west of Saigon) were from that same area. Never mind that, Gen. Westmoreland says emphatically now that it is not a civil war, it is an outside aggression. He supports the Administration on every argument. A cease-fire will "inevitably" aid the enemy. He is somber; he sees no end in sight; the worst fighting lies ahead: "We will have to grind them down. . . . We are fighting a war of attrition." To an interviewer he said: "We'll just go on bleeding them until Hanoi wakes up to the fact that they have bled their country to the point of national disaster for several generations."

Pipe Down, Pink-o's

★ We suspect the escalation, and Gen-Westmoreland's attack on war critics, are going to change the national climate. Every hawk from now on is going to recall the general's comment that the enemy doesn't understand democratic debate and sees in it evidence of "crumbling morale and diminishing resolve." So pipe down, you pink-o's, you're aiding the commies. You're producing misunderstanding that "inevitably will cost lives."

We see a tightening of tension now. Those who equate nonconformity with treason have got new support. We are probably in for an interval of accusation, flag-waving and thought control.

The curious thing is that we are doing the things that will produce the two results, we most of all want to avoid: we are pushing Communist China and Soviet Russia back toward each other again; and we are making the North Vietnamese, who normally hate the Chinese, more dependent on them.

"Is it not really inevitable," Bobby Kennedy asked the Senate last week, after Westmoreland's New York speech, "that our adversaries will have to take other steps themselves? As surely as we are standing here the Soviet Union, Communist China, and North Vietnam will have to react to what we have done by acting themselves."

Another 1948?

★ On the political front it now begins to look as though 1968 would be a repeat of 1948, with four candidates. These will be a Democrat (Johnson); a Republican; a States Righter (Wallace of Alabama replacing Strom Thurmond of South Carolina); and very likely a Peace Ticket, possibly combining with a Civil Rights drive.

Dr. Martin Luther King says he won't run on the latter ticket which must cause relief to the Administration, for King's appeal to the big city Negro ghettos would be extensive. However, a protest group is building up which may very well find expression in a presidential candidate.

Twenty years ago Henry A. Wallace didn't get an electoral vote but he almost threw the election to Dewey. President Truman won California by only 18,000, Ohio by 7,000, and the Wallace vote gave New York to Dewey.

The prospect of a third, and even a fourth party in 1968 has stalled Russell Long's presidential campaign financing proposal in the Senate. There is also a power struggle between quiet, gentlemanly majority leader Mansfield and the bumptious son of the Kingfish (regarded by some as the most powerful man in the upper chamber). Public aid to finance presidential campaigns is popular, but nobody wants to aid third parties, and no formula was found for cutting off funds from (a) Wallace and (b) a Peace Ticket.

Meanwhile Hubert Humphrey threw his arm around segregationist Gov. Lester Maddox (D, Ga.) and proclaimed him "a good Democrat" in an Administration drive to wean him away from George Wallace: a dirty but apparently successful job.

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Illegitimi non Carborundum

The Administration brought General Westmoreland all the way from Vietnam to overawe its critics, but the Senate's Democratic and Republican dissenters appropriated Barry Goldwater's old dog-Latin motto, "Illegitimi non Carborundum," which roughly means, "Don't let the so-and-so's shut you up."

General Westmoreland saw no end in sight; "we are fighting a war of attrition." *Why* are we? It is costing 50,000 South Vietnamese *civilian* casualties a year, according to Senator Robert Kennedy. Two days before Westmoreland spoke, Senator Percy said: "Already 9,000 Americans have died in Vietnam and we have suffered over 63,000 casualties. We must answer whether we are prepared to allow our men to die at the rate of 200 to 300 a month for an interminable number of years." Westmoreland says the answer is Yes and gave as reason a Chinese communist threat to the entire world. Who believes it?

The general muddled his political facts; does he have his military ones straight? Senator Church recalled that, for years, "most of our best generals" warned against "a larger and bloodier war on the Asian mainland." General Westmoreland is "delighted" that this country has once again stepped up its bombing attacks on North Vietnamese targets, and he is against a cease-fire.

Senator McGovern says that the extended bombing is "one step closer to world war three" and "a policy of madness which sooner or later will envelop my son and American youth by the millions for years to come." Senators Kennedy, Fulbright and Percy also fear Russia and China may enter the war. General Westmoreland's stolid comment is, "I think we should be prepared for any contingencies." Are the critics guilty of prolonging the fighting, or is the Administration?

General Westmoreland favors escalation, yet offers little or no hope that stepping up the war will end it sooner. No wonder critics like Republican Senators Percy and Hatfield (we print Hatfield's views on page 17 in this issue), and Democratic Senators Kennedy, Fulbright, McGovern, Church, Young and the rest are appalled. These are thoroughly responsible men, every bit as patriotic as the general. They will not be put down, they will not be shut up. Like Oliver Cromwell they are saying to the Administration, "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken." A wise Administration would hearken to dissenters of their caliber, not devise ploys to silence them. But Senator Fulbright suspects that from now on they risk being charged with disloyalty, then treason.

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More, More

General Westmoreland's trip here was arranged by President Johnson not only to reinforce the attack on war critics but principally to prepare the way for sending more reinforcements to Vietnam. The general is said to want 80,000 to 130,000 more American troops than the 440,000 he had in mid-April. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have recommended at least another division and some more tactical air units this year, and still another division early in 1968. These are forces not included in the current war plan and, in the case of the ground troops, not included in the military establishment either. If approved by President Johnson, they would add about 50,000 men to the war plan, which now calls for about 470,000 men in Vietnam. The Pentagon estimated that this will cost another $1.2 billion in the fiscal year beginning July 1, but Sen. John Stennis predicted it will cost another $4 to $6 billion. He has proved a more accurate estimator of war costs than the Pentagon on more than one occasion in the past. If approved, as seems certain, the additions will also require higher draft calls, beginning this summer.

Once again the Administration is abandoning its publicized limits on the size, scope and cost of the war.

"This is the first one I've backed into."

Less than three weeks before the MIG airfields in North Vietnam were bombed, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara answered the hawks in Congress who wanted to bomb them by pointing out that only two percent of US aircraft losses over North Vietnam were due to the MIGs. The policy of not bombing the airfields, he said, was "based on our desire to avoid widening the war."

McNamara's Negroes

Forty thousand of the men fighting America's dirty war in Vietnam are Negroes; last year nearly 750 Negroes were killed there. While they fight and die in disproportionate numbers, Negroes back home are denied seats on Georgia and South Carolina draft boards, and in Washington, D. C. and elsewhere a Negro serviceman often cannot find a place to live near his base.

"Adequate, decent off-base housing for Negro personnel in the armed forces," said a Defense Department report in 1966, "is the most stubborn and pervasive form of segregation and discrimination" affecting Negroes in the military, in the North as well as the South. But the Pentagon's efforts to end off-base housing segregation have been dilatory.

The problem could be quickly ended by an open-housing directive from Secretary McNamara, instructing base commanders to declare off-limits to all military personnel housing facilities which exclude Negroes. The big new apartment buildings which have sprung up around bases would be put under the severest economic pressure: cease discriminating or lose all military tenants.

Instead, the department has chosen to issue voluminous high-minded reports, surveys and policy statements "opposing segregation" but specifically forbidding use of the off-limits sanction, the tool that base commanders have found useful in keeping servicemen out of gyp joints, whore houses and trouble generally.

The most recent Defense Department directive, April 11, came as a result of pressure from the Washington ACCESS (Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs). It provides for a nationwide census of housing to find out the extent of the discrimination which everyone knows exists. It reiterates earlier, inadequate, policy – requiring bases not to list off-base housing not open to Negroes, and monthly progress reports to Washington.

ACCESS, which proposed the use of the off-limits sanction, saw this most recent step for what it was – a smokescreen carefully put up to make it appear that McNamara's band is doing something for Negroes. When ACCESS wrote to Mr. McNamara suggesting the use of the off-limits sanction, it got no reply.

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Get Well Cheaper the Hard-Name Way

Pantheon Books has just published an unusual and valuable volume on drugs. Entitled *The Handbook of Prescription Drugs*, by Dr. Richard Burack of the Harvard Medical School, it tells how to save money by buying drugs by their generic names.

All drugs have an official, or generic name, but often are sold by an unofficial or brand-name. New drugs and processes are protected by the patent laws for 17 years, during which period the manufacturer can do pretty much as he likes in setting up the price. But manufacturers seek to keep up the price long after the patent has run out, by hawking the medicine under a swell-sounding brand-name. The drug companies spend $600 million a year in advertising, to din brand-names into the heads of patients and doctors. As a result, 90 percent of all prescriptions are written for brand-names, which sometimes are easier to pronounce, spell and remember, but often are expensive.

Dr. Burack's book lists the generic names, and prices (to the druggist) and manufacturers of drugs. By using his lists, it's possible to save money. Some examples:

Penicillin G, the basic penicillin, was introduced on a wide scale in 1942 and is unpatented. A number of firms sell it. Squibb offers Penicillin G under the brand-name "Petids" and wants $6.62 for 100 tablets. By contrast, a lesser-known company called Pennex will sell the same quantity of Penicillin G for 92 cents. Dr. Burack cites several other companies which offer the medicine at prices from $1 to $2 for 100 tablets.

People on diets often take the appetite suppressant they know only as Dexedrine. Dexedrine is the brand-name that Smith Kline & French put on a drug which has the generic name of dextroamphetamine sulfate. One thousand Dexedrine tablets cost the druggist $22.60. It is far cheaper to buy the drug under its generic name. For example, American Quinine sells 1,000 pills for $1. Ten other companies listed by Dr. Burack sell the medicine for less than $2 per 1,000 pills.

The ingredients in a gallon of phenylephrine nose drops cost the manufacturer $3.50. But to buy this common nasal decongestant, which is sold over the counter without a prescription, the customer must pay from 75 cents to $1 for a one-ounce bottle. That means that a gallon of the stuff whose ingredients cost $3.50 is sold at retail for as much as $120.

Digitalis is often prescribed to patients with heart trouble. It is the dried leaves of the *digitalis purpurea* plant which have been pressed into tablets. Made by Davies, Rose-Hoyt, digitalis is sold as "Pil-Digis" and sells for $18.40 per 1,000 tablets. McNeill makes a slightly cheaper digitalis tablet, selling for $17.55 for the same amount. On the other hand, the same amount of the same medicine can be purchased from American Quinine for $1.36 or from Corvit for $1.70.

Meprobamate is a widely used tranquilizer, probably best known to the public by Wallace Laboratories' brand-name, "Miltown." Four-hundred-and-fifty Miltown pills cost $6.50. Wyeth sells meprobamate as "Equanil" for $5.80. But you can buy 450 meprobamate pills from Pennex for $3.10.

Dr. Burack points out that another commonly used and inexpensive tranquilizer, Phenobarbital, costs the druggist between 50 cents and $1 for 1,000 15-milligram tablets. However, many druggists maintain a minimum prescription price and the patient frequently finds himself paying $2 for 50 or fewer tablets.

People suffering from iron deficiency sometimes are told to take an iron vitamin. This is known generically as ferrous sulfate. Smith Kline & French sell this medicine under the brand-name "Feosol" for $9 per 1,000. But Dr. Burack lists eight companies that sell ferrous sulfate for less than $2 per 1,000 pills.

The large drug companies sometimes suggest that it is better to buy their products at high prices because the product is reliable. However, as Dr. Burack's tables show, in half the cases where the government was forced to make companies recall drugs because of faulty manufacturing, the big firms were involved.

Dr. Burack provides a list of drug manufacturers that have been approved by the Defense Supply Agency. It buys drugs for the military and companies that do business with it are likely to be fairly reliable.

The patient can save money by asking the doctor to prescribe drugs by their generic names. Then, by using Dr. Burack's tables, he can ask the druggist to fill the prescription with medicine from the least expensive manufacturer.

The Handbook of Prescription Drugs sells for $4.95 in hard cover, $1.95 in paperback. The book's disclosures last week prompted Senator Gaylord Nelson (D, Wis.) to announce an investigation of drug pricing and public hearings by the Senate monopoly subcommittee, set for May 15.

A Future for Radio

Thanks to the Ford Foundation, we are reminded that radio is not just a massive outpouring of noise; there is educational radio, and a foundation-subsidized study just released, "The Hidden Medium," describes in detail what it is and could be. The report appears while the Senate Commerce Committee is concluding hear-

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ings on the Magnuson bill that would set up a public corporation to help finance expanded TV *and* radio educational operations, fund new station construction, and authorize a long-range study of the possibilities of instructional TV.

There are now 346 educational radio stations (most of them using the reserved FM band); construction permits have been granted for another 18, and 20 additional applications are pending before the FCC. Some concentrate on classical music, others on agriculture, still others on programs "that parents listen to so that they can know what their child is being taught." There are also community stations with less specialized programming. Colleges and universities are the main licensees (244 stations); the remaining are licensed by public school systems or private nonprofit institutions.

As the senators have been told, educational radio is the Cinderella of broadcasting. Almost 50 percent of the stations, according to "The Hidden Medium," operate on less than $20,000 a year, and about one-third have budgets of less than $10,000 a year. Half of the stations surveyed don't have adequate newsroom facilities; over a fourth have no newsroom at all.

The report finds that educational stations are giving more and more attention to problems "such as poverty, minority groups, urban affairs and changing morality." One reason for this "is the ease with which tape recordings can now be made of seminars, conferences and other educational forums taking place with increasing frequency on college and university campuses." Thus, station KSAC in Manhattan, Kansas, spent an entire year broadcasting a thorough review of the poverty program. In general, however, "the minimum budgets under which some stations operate often force them to concentrate on college-oriented programs. . . . By the same token the stations are not usually in a financial position to provide minority groups the kinds of assistance they would require to use educational radio. . . ."

The report suggests that educational radio could do much more to serve "the special needs of the aged, the blind, the infirm, veterans, the socially disadvantaged, parents of handicapped children and other such groups." It cites the example of the Louisville Free Public Library stations, WFPK and WFPL, which provide from their tape library recordings for the Kentucky School for the Blind. In contrast to commercial broadcasting, educational radio can and often does present news in depth, analysis and interpretation of such special subjects as religion, health, the arts and business – "traditionally thought of as more the province of the printed media."

Though in Wisconsin a state educational network reached an estimated 770,000 school children in 1965, most in-school stations have an unnecessarily small audience. Most schools lack adequate communication systems to receive broadcasts, and teachers are not properly instructed on how to use the educational service. Given adequate financing, school stations could broaden their programming beyond the classroom and day-to-day curriculum. For example, the report mentions the hope of WBOE in Cleveland to use radio "to bring young people the professional insights of physicians and psychiatrists into problems of alcoholism and drug addiction" and to help school-age children begin making realistic vocational plans.

In some areas, the broadcast spectrum is already crowded to capacity. But a way out is to be found in multiplexing, "a technical minor miracle which permits one or more additional signals to ride 'piggy-back' on the main channel transmission of an FM station. The potential of turning a single station into a transmitter of two, three or more simultaneous services offers a multitude of opportunities."

Money isn't everything. But the report leaves no doubt that "basic financing is the key need; financing for facilities, equipment, personnel, training, programming and production."

Bond Doggle

Last spring the 50 residents of Champ, Missouri, (14 qualified voters) voted a $12.5 million industrial development bond issue. The proceeds from the sale of this bond will go toward the construction of three plants to lure industries to Champ. In exchange, three corporations have prearranged to rent the plants from the town in order to cover the village's payments on the huge interest-bearing certificate.

Apparently such a transaction is profitable for all concerned (approximately 37 states have passed enabling acts for municipal industrial financing). New industry perks up a town's payroll, and corporations save money in the following ways: (1) Since municipal bonds are tax-free, capital to finance plant construction is acquired at a rate appreciably lower than "prime" bank rates; this saving is then passed on to industry in the form of low rent. (2) The corporation pays no property tax, since the plant legally belongs to the city (sometimes companies pay a fee to the town in lieu of property taxes). In addition, the existence of anti-union "right to work" laws means lower operating costs for industries locating in the South, the leader in the industrial development bond field.

The sale of tax-exempt industrial development bonds was originally intended to aid small companies which were willing to enter regions suffering from chronic unemployment but which were unable to raise capital at a reasonable cost. Today, however, the beneficiaries of this subsidy have changed substantially. Municipal in-

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Just a Drop Can Kill

Secret Work on Gas and Germ Warfare

by Seymour M. Hersh

Millions of dollars will be spent this year by the Pentagon on chemical and biological warfare (CBW) research and procurement programs under way at six military installations, more than 50 colleges and universities and by many more private firms. The total amount being spent is classified. Budgets climbed from $100 million in 1961 to $300 million in 1964; then a secrecy curtain was lowered, cutting off the public's view. Behind it, CBW scientists perfected the gases, herbicides and defoliants that are getting wider use every week in Vietnam, and stockpiled thousands of tons of effective gas agents, including Sarin and Tabun – two quick-kill nerve gases. Germs and gases have been successfully test-delivered by guided missiles, hand grenades, bomb clusters, artillery shells and aerosol sprays. Pentagon scientists are believed able to deploy effectively a variety of germ agents whose names provoke dread around the world – tularemia, anthrax, dysentery, brucellosis, Q-fever, dengue fever, yellow fever, encephalitis, plague. Similarly virulent anticrop fungi, rusts, blights and rots also have been developed. Elinor Langer pointed out in recent articles in *Science* that a female researcher got the Distinguished Service Medal, the army's highest award to civilians, for helping develop a rice blast fungus that in its natural form has repeatedly damaged Asian rice crops. Miss Langer added that Research Analysis Corporation, a firm near Washington, studies chemical attacks on guerrilla food crops, as well as GB (a toxic nerve gas), and has examined the "feasibility of chemical warfare in defense of a perimeter in the Naktong Valley basin."

More than 500 scientists labor in secret daily in nondescript brown-brick laboratories at the $90 million base of Fort Detrick that occupies 1,300 acres near Frederick, Maryland, 50 miles northwest of Washington. Detrick is, in part, a giant experimental animal farm, with the animals as guinea pigs. The human staff includes 120 PhDs. Security is rigid. When I visited Detrick recently, I made a wrong turn down one of the outlying roads and was promptly stopped by an unmarked police car and two army jeeps manned with military policemen. They knew who I was, and where I was to go. Later, a microbiologist at the base told of once leaving the word "bacteriology" on a blackboard inside his office, and receiving a visit at home a few hours later from FBI agents, demanding to know why he did it.

The chances of serious laboratory accidents seem to be high. Between 1959 and 1963, there were 1,218 accidents at Fort Detrick, half of them dealing with biological substances. Some of these are incredibly toxic. During World War II, Detrick scientists isolated a botulism so virulent that 500 grams of it – slightly more than a pound – was considered sufficient to wipe out the world's population. Since 1950, there have been at least 283 known cases of illnesses due to exposure to biological materials at Detrick. The illnesses resulted in three deaths, two from anthrax and the other from viral equine encephalitis. One private Pentagon study listed the top five laboratory diseases at Detrick as tularemia, brucellosis, Q-fever, anthrax and equine encephalitis, in that order. No reliable information is available about on-the-job accidents at the Pentagon's other CBW facilities, although one report indicates there have been more than 800 industrial accidents at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, 10 miles from downtown Denver, where nerve and other gases are produced and stockpiled above ground in metal casks about the size of garbage cans. The production line at the arsenal is immense: more than 150 million gallons of highly toxic waste liquids have been pumped into deep wells, according to the Pentagon. Nerve gases also are produced on a smaller scale at a Pentagon plant at Newport, Ind.

The Edgewood, Md., Chemical Warfare Center serves as the main research and development facility for the military's gas efforts. Testing of CBW munitions is done at the Deseret Test Center near Dugway, Utah, a huge base that employs about 1,300 workers. Most work done there is top secret. The Pine Bluff, Ark., Arsenal serves as a main warehouse for the storage and assembly of chemical munitions. Pine Bluff also is the site of an elaborate biological laboratory where a skilled staff is on standby basis to begin producing germ-war munitions in case of emergency.

SEYMOUR M. HERSH *is a Washington, D. C. reporter.*

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Most biological warfare agents can't be stockpiled, say the Pentagon scientists, because they have a relatively short shelf life.

Despite some recent reshuffling, the army still remains generally responsible for the nation's CBW work. The air force and navy carry out their own research and procurement programs, said to account for about 35 percent of overall spending. Headquarters for the air force CBW program is Eglin Air Force Base, Fla. The navy has its CBW center at the China Lake, Calif., ordnance test station. The two services are not permitted to build their own laboratories for work on highly toxic or infectious materials, but apparently must work under pay-as-you-go contracts at Fort Detrick and Edgewood Arsenal, with similar arrangements for testing munitions at the Deseret Center.

A check of available CBW research literature and contracts shows that more than half of the CBW budget ends up in the hands of businessmen. The companies now doing CBW work include General Mills, General Dynamics, Litton Industries, Booz-Allen, General Electric, Du Pont, Monsanto Chemical, Fisher Chemical, Aerojet-General Corp., Westinghouse Electric and Arthur D. Little. The chemical industry this year will turn out $50 million worth of defoliants and herbicides for air force use in Vietnam. In addition, most of the major pharmaceutical companies turn over new formulas that have CBW possibilities to Edgewood for screening; as many as 5,000 formulas are thus contributed each year.

There is controversy about CBW research performed on college and university campuses. The Pentagon recently listed 52 academic institutions now working in CBW under Defense Department contracts; others say there may be 20 more. Until recently, the relationship had been tranquil and prosperous: some of the campus-Pentagon contracts date back to World War II. But chemical warfare in Vietnam set antiwar groups searching out CBW projects on campus.

Probes on Campuses

Student leaders and faculty members have received guides for investigation from the Committee for Academic Integrity, a New York-based group of scientists whose goal is to save the chemical and biological sciences from performing the "same service for the Pentagon which their colleagues, the atomic physicists, performed in the forties." The scientists are collaborating with SANE and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam – a New Left organization that publishes the Vietnam News Service. Local units of the Students for a Democratic Society conduct a campus-by-campus investigation into CBW and classified Pentagon research. One SDS finding is that every year MIT awards about 20 masters' and doctoral degrees for "classified" theses.

Once a CBW contract is discovered and verified, the Committee for Academic Integrity recommends faculty censure, student demonstrations and local newspaper publicity to stamp it out. Here's how officials of the University of Pennsylvania reacted to two years of student protests and nationwide publicity over two military contracts worth $845,000 in annual research funds. Projects "Summit" and "Spicerack," both concerned with CBW, were conducted by the university's Institute of Cooperative Research. On March 15, University President Harnwell announced that the two projects would not be continued beyond March 1968. The work on both would be transferred to the University City Science Center by the end of July of this year.

The Center is an applied research organization owned by a number of educational institutions in the Philadelphia area; according to the Federation of American Scientists, Penn is the largest shareholder.

The University of Maryland Medical School in Baltimore has been accepting germ warfare research contracts in the infectious disease area from the army for the past 20 years, and says it has no intention of stopping current work on five Pentagon contracts, valued at $600,000 yearly. "We only accept work in associated fields of medicine," Dean William S. Stone told me. "I don't understand people who feel there is something unethical about any of these studies. We have no feeling we're doing anything unethical or improper." At nearby Johns Hopkins University, officials also profess to be baffled by the campus CBW controversy. "Government contracts represent a big part of our research efforts – it's a way of life," explains Ridgely H. Warfield, director of the university's Institute for Cooperative Research. He estimates that 95 percent of research done at Hopkins is generated internally. In the fiscal year 1966, Hopkins handled more than $50 million worth of Pentagon research and development contracts, one of them for an investigation into medical care of occupational illnesses among the laboratory personnel at Fort Detrick, Md.

Newsmen are told by the Pentagon that almost all campus CBW research is unclassified and is usually for defensive purposes only – the development of vaccines, antidotes and detection systems. However, a check of military research contracts over the past few years shows that many universities have engaged in research – much of it classified – that appears to have value to an offensive weapons system.

A very partial listing from unclassified sources discloses that:

► Western Reserve University, Cleveland, recently conducted studies for the army on "various aspects of

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absorption of biologically active substances through human skin." A few drops of Sarin, the nerve gas, kill moments after contact with the skin.

► Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, Calif., a research subsidiary of Stanford University, organized a series of studies in the late 50's and early 60's of aerosol sprays and chemical stabilizers.

► Rutgers University has carried out an army study entitled "Synthesis of chemical compounds with potential psychological effects for use as incapacitating agents." The military has worked with LSD and other psychochemicals for at least 10 years. (Widely ballyhooed by the Army Chemical Corps over the past eight years, "psychochemicals" apparently have turned out less dramatic than was expected. The current army list of available chemical agents lists only one incapacitating gas – BZ. Unclassified information about BZ is skimpy, but an army training manual warns that there are "critical limitations" to its use. Symptoms include headache, giddiness, disorientation, hallucinations, drowiness and, occasionally, maniacal behavior.)

► The Institute of Agriculture at the University of Minnesota made a study in 1961 into "pathogenicity and aggressiveness of entities of Puccinia Graminiminis" – a crop-killing rust.

► The Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory at Buffalo, N.Y., a subsidiary of Cornell University, conducted a long-term "chemical ordnance test evalution," analyzing wind, area, particle size, sampling and ammunition.

► Indiana University did research into "basic psychological studies of the effects of incapacitating agents."

► Fordham University's Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies provided the Department of Defense with regular reports on "selected abstracts from Soviet biomedical journals." (Similar work is done by the Library of Congress, where a translator told me: "We're interested in two things – what they are doing on this [CBW] and what they want to find out from us." He added that the government watches Russian research literature to determine, for example, what specific public health menaces may exist there. "Any public health problems they have that we can make worse is interesting to us," he said.)

The Committee for Academic Integrity, in its letter to colleagues, warned: "The existence of CBW research does violence to the integrity of our universities, since it is often classified and therefore not subject to scholarly criticism. . . . The biological sciences have been relatively free of Defense Department encroachment. There is a danger that this freedom will be compromised as the volume of university-based CBW research increases."

Here is the Pentagon's list of colleges and universities now holding CBW research contracts: The universities of Arizona, Wisconsin, New York, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Utah, Hawaii, Oklahoma, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Washington, Louisiana State, Colorado, Texas, Florida, West Virginia, Ohio, California, Oregon and Minnesota. Also Tufts; Brown; Lowell Institute, Mass.; Case Institute; Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute; St. Louis University; Harvard; Utah State; Johns Hopkins; Chicago; Baylor; Tulane; Rutgers; MIT; Georgia Tech; William and Mary; Pittsburgh; Boston; Albany College, N.Y.; Duke; Akron College, Ohio; Rochester; Cornell; Yale; Purdue; Illinois Institute of Technology; and Hahnemann Medical College.

All of the contracts are with the army. The air force and navy refused to release information on the extent of their CBW research on campus, but their work may involve up to 20 more universities and colleges.

Two petitions by American scientists to the White House in the past six months urged President Johnson to "reestablish and categorically declare the intention of the US to refrain from initiating the use of" chemical and biological weapons. "The employment of any one CB weapon weakens the barriers to the use of others," the scientists said.

New Secret Policy

President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1943 stated "categorically that we shall under no circumstances resort to the use of such weapons [CBW] unless they are first used by our enemy." But Maj. Gen. William M. Creasy, then head of the Army Chemical Corps, told a closed congressional hearing in 1958 that a new, but "top secret," policy had been in effect "since about October 1956"; he added that it was backed by a Defense Department directive.

What is the policy? Some officials indicate that it permits first-strike use of CBW weapons, but only at the specific direction of the President. Army Field Manual 3-10, "The Employment of Chemical and Biological Agents," says: "The decision to employ lethal or incapacitating chemical or biological agents is a matter of national policy. When the decision is made, US Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps commanders will receive through command channels the authority to use such agents and specific guidance in their use."

Some of Roosevelt's contemporaries don't seem to have believed his 1943 statement. Shortly before he died last year, Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz was asked by a reporter what his toughest World War II decision was. "I think when the War Department suggested the use of poison gas during the invasion of Iwo Jima, that was a trying decision," the old admiral

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answered. "I decided the US should not be the first to violate the 1925 Geneva Convention. It cost me many fine Marines." In his autobiography, David E. Lilienthal cites Gen. George C. Marshall as the man who advocated the use of gas on Iwo Jima. Lilienthal writes that Marshall eventually changed his mind out of fear that the Germans would retaliate with gas against England, not out of respect for the Geneva Convention.

The US signed the 1925 convention outlawing use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, but the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did not ratify it, and so the State Department has been telling critics that the use of nonlethal gases and defoliants in Vietnam is "not contrary to international law and practices."

The Pain Is So Terrible

What does nonlethal mean? A 13-year-old Yemeni survivor of an Egyptian gas attack told Judith Listowel, a British journalist whose account was published in *The Statist* on February 3, "I could not breathe and tears poured from my eyes and I coughed and spat blood; the pain was so terrible that I knocked my head on the floor. . . . Those who did not struggle much and tried to breathe little could live." So the gas the Egyptians use probably isn't technically "lethal."

FM 3-10 lists three riot control agents that are now being used in Vietnam: CS (irritant gas), CN (vomiting gas) and DM (nausea gas). The manual describes their effects as short range – five minutes up to hours – with no worse symptoms than burning of the eyes, irritation of the respiratory passages and, in cases of heavy concentrations, nausea. But two Harvard doctors, Victor W. Sidel and Robert M. Goldwyn, writing last year in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, offered this appraisal: "The first three groups [riot control agents] to be discussed are incapacitating but usually nonlethal, although they can kill under certain circumstances: extremely high concentration of agent or highly susceptible victim, such as the very young, the very old or the very sick."

Not only the young, old or sick can be killed by riot control gases. A Reuters dispatch reprinted in *The New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1966, reported that nonlethal gases being used against Viet Cong guerrillas in tunnels northwest of Saigon killed one Australian soldier and sent six others to the hospital. The dispatch identified the casualty as Robert Boswell of Sydney, a 24-year-old corporal and said he died of "asphyxiation although he was wearing a gas mask." The Australians were taking part in a US offensive.

American officials say that the US traditionally has taken a stand against inhumane gases "outlawed by the general opinion of civilized mankind." However, Army Field Manual 27-10 says: "The US is not a party to any treaty, now in force, that prohibits or restricts the use in warfare of toxic or nontoxic gases, or smoke or incendiary materials, or of bacteriological warfare."

The Pentagon is telling newsmen that the CBW programs are needed because the US "can not overlook the possibility of a surprise attack which could be launched with less effort, and less expenditure, and with greater accuracy than the attack on Pearl Harbor." CBW scientists report that more than half of this year's estimated $100 million "research and development" budget is being spent to develop vaccines, antibiotics and warning systems capable of alerting the nation to surprise attack. The scientists say the US is itself producing germs and gases for which there are no known detection systems; adequate alarms will not be available until 1969. There are only about 20,000 gas masks stored around the nation – something like one for every 10,000 citizens.

But the complex problems involved in getting CBW agents effectively dispersed behind enemy lines have been solved. The most important breakthrough was development of a stabilizer, so that germ-filled aerosol sprays remain suspended in air for long periods (exactly how long is classified) and stay lethal. After years of experiments, Pentagon scientists have determined that the most effective germ particles range from one to five microns in size (a micron is 1/25,000 of an inch). Particles that are bigger or smaller, they learned, are less likely to infect humans. Most diseases are initiated by a dose of several thousand organisms, but a single organism of the highly infectious Q-fever or tularemia is thought to be capable of spreading disease to man.

Germ warfare is "just disease control in reverse," one scientist working for the government told me. In one of her articles in *Science*, Miss Langer made the point that the work at Detrick "consists in part . . . of efforts to breed into pathogenic organisms precisely the characteristics – such as resistance to antibiotics – that medical researchers would like to see eradicated. In the context of biological warfare, even life-saving techniques, such as immunization, take on a strange aspect: immunity among one's own population and troops is a prerequisite to the initiation of disease by our own forces, as well as a precaution against its initiation by others."

This sort of research makes army manuals on biological warfare sound like primers in counterinsurgency techniques. FM 3-10 tells commanders that, "The search capability of biological agent clouds and the relatively small dose required to cause infection among troops give biological munitions the capability to cover

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large areas where targets are not precisely located but where intelligence indicates enemy troops may be present."

Just who would be the target of a CBW attack? FM 3-10 goes on to explain that biological munitions are employed primarily against enemy troops. "But," it adds, "a combination of enemy troops and civilians may be the target." As for allies, commanders are warned that, "The degree of risk that can result in incapacitated casualties among unwarned friendly troops must be kept so low that there will be no significant effect on the morale of friendly units in the path of a biological cloud."

Three army doctors, writing on germ warfare in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* a few years ago, pointed out that it isn't necessary for all of the population to become ill in order to have a successful attack. They explained that, "The presence of such a disease or the threat of the use of biological agents could have a bonus effect in the form of fear. The fear of exposure to something new, that one can not hear, feel, see or smell, will give rise to numerous psychological problems. Any individuals becoming ill will be a source for rumors and counterrumors. Minor symptoms will be exaggerated. . . ."

Scientific critics of CBW say not enough is known about the way epidemics spread, or what effect CBW agents would have on the ecology of a strike area; the Pentagon is aware of the problem. In a January 1964 article in the *Texas State Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Elroy B. Fothergill Jr., an adviser to the army's main biological laboratory at Fort Detrick, Md., wrote: "We have no knowledge of the range of susceptibilities of these many species of wildlife to specific microorganisms, particularly through the respiratory route of infectious aerosols. What would be the consequence? Would it establish public health and environmental problems that are unique and beyond our present experience?"

The Pentagon's answer seems to be tied to a dual program of research into ecological factors and public opinion. A much criticized 1965 air force contract with Travelers Research Center Inc. of Hartford, Conn., a subsidiary of the insurance firm, called for research into four areas: (1) predictions of probable developments in the field of nonlethal chemical and biological weapons; (2) predictions of what the attitude of US leaders and informed members of the American public might be toward the use of such weapons; (3) a comparison of these attitudes with predicted attitudes toward use of nuclear, conventional and lethal chemical and biological weapons; and (4) how nonlethal weapons could be employed effectively in "low-level" conflicts, exclusive of political and public attitudes. The firm's classified report was completed last summer.

War Protest in Wartime

"Like events may be expected to happen hereafter."
– THUCYDIDES.

As this century opened, some 70,000 American soldiers were embroiled in an undeclared war against Philippine guerrillas halfway around the world. It was certainly a dirty little war, fought with terror on both sides. Our soldiers publicly talked of their use of the "water cure" and other tortures; the killing of prisoners was commonplace. One American officer escaped court-martial for killing a priest under torture, only because his reserve commission expired before the trial. An American gunboat captain misread his orders, bombarded a friendly village, and killed or wounded many civilians. Military censors tried to suppress the story.

Back home, Americans were bitterly divided. Mark Twain suggested a new US flag, "with the white stripes painted black, and the stars replaced by a skull and crossbones." *The Nation* called American actions "barbarism . . . bringing disgrace upon the American name and civilization." One Negro editor wrote that it was "a sinful extravagance to waste our civilizing influence upon the unappreciative Filipinos when it is so badly needed right here in Arkansas." Opponents of the war included ex-Presidents Harrison and Cleveland, and Samuel Gompers and Andrew Carnegie.

One year before this war to annex the Philippines broke out, President McKinley had said that for the United States to annex territory by force would be "criminal aggression." When Mr. Hennessy told his bartender friend that we must take the Philippines, Mr. Dooley replied, "An' yet, tis not more thin two months since ye larned whether they were islands or canned goods."

There was no doubt that the Philippine guerrillas were fighting for their own independence. Gen. Douglas MacArthur reported to a Senate committee that the population almost unanimously supported Emilio Aguinaldo's revolutionary government. No foreign power lurked behind them. No one conceived the possibility that their victory might set off a row of falling dominoes. They represented no threat to anyone ex-

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cept those who came from afar to suppress their revolution. No one imagined that crushing this revolution would help to preserve peace, or freedom, or democracy. The guerrillas, not the Americans, stood for these things.

In good part, the war was a result of the machinations of a few advocates of American imperialism. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt's order to Commodore Dewey to attack the Philippines in case of war with Spain, kept secret from the President, is famous. Less well known are his later instructions to Henry Cabot Lodge when it appeared that Spanish resistance in Cuba might collapse too soon: "You must prevent any talk of peace until we get Puerto Rico and the Philippines." In the midst of the debates over the war, Roosevelt received advance copies of Kipling's *White Man's Burden*, which he told Lodge was bad poetry but useful propaganda.

William Allen White had set the tone of the imperialist argument years earlier, writing that "it is the Anglo-Saxon manifest destiny to go forth as the world conqueror . . . this is what fate holds for the chosen people." Senator Beveridge's maiden speech in 1898 furthered this line: "Just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. The Pacific is the ocean of commerce of the future and most future wars will be conflicts of commerce."

But Americans had to be supplied with a moral justification. Beveridge said that "our race" was the "trustee under God, of the civilization of the world." No army public relations officer today would allow one of our generals to say what General William Shafter said then, that "it may be necessary to kill half the population of the islands in order that the remaining half may be lifted from their semi-barbarity to the civilization we are ready to give them." And there is McKinley's embarrassing description of the answer given his prayer for guidance: "There was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them." Substitute for "uplift" and "civilize" the more fashionable "develop their economy," and for "Christianize" something like "help them build a free society."

As the war progressed, the arguments of national prestige and national honor were raised to counter the protest movement. *Harper's Weekly* cited McKinley's view that "if we should abandon the Philippines, we should be an object of derision to Europe, and the Orientals would consider us of no account." (Translation: "Our deterrent power would lose its credibility.") President Schurman of the Philippine Commission argued that "the vital issue is the honor of our nation . . . the fulfillment of our obligation to the nations of the world involved in our acceptance of sovereignty." What he meant was that by forcing the Spanish to cede us the Philippines, we committed ourselves to take them even against Philippine opposition.

With American lives being lost to Aguinaldo's guerrillas, the defenders of imperialism found a new argument. General Elwell Otis and General Henry Lawton both wrote from the Philippines that the protesters were giving aid and comfort to the enemy and prolonging the war. Lawton's charges on this point were published, dramatically, shortly after his death in action. He had written that if he were killed, it would be the result of the protest movement, because "the continuance of the fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America."

This is a powerful argument in wartime because it is emotionally compelling, but impossible to prove or disprove. In the Philippine case, Aguinaldo's memoirs give us some hints. "Once the war started," he wrote, "we built up hopes to give the semblance of reason to our course. . . . We hoped that the American people would soon demand an end to the war." Not just because they would tire of its cost in blood and money, he said, but because "the basic political principles on which the American government was founded were being violated and repudiated in the American action." He hoped that the American people would realize how un-American they were being. This hope soon vanished, but he kept fighting anyway. "This failing," he added, "we went so far as to believe the possibility that some European power, perhaps Germany, might champion our cause."

There is always another hope around the corner. Unfortunately for Aguinaldo, for thousands of American and Filipino dead, the American people could not quite see what is so obvious now: that their war against the Filipinos was immoral, unjust, and unnecessary.

JAMES R. SHIRLEY

MR. SHIRLEY is assistant professor of Chinese history at Northern Illinois University.

COMING: *James Ridgeway on problems and prospects of putting Appalachia back in America*

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The Prayerful Oregonian

A Different Sort Of Aggressiveness

On a plastic partition which serves as a wall in Senator Mark Hatfield's office hangs a photograph that was apparently autographed to nobody in particular. All it says is: "With the regards of Theodore Roosevelt. May 1st, 1907." Hatfield found it in a used bookstore and had it framed. It is the Western progressive in the junior senator from Oregon that prompts his admiration of TR's "aggressive facing up to a problem." The admiration, however, does not extend to Roosevelt's "overaggressiveness in foreign affairs," for TR was a very hawkish hawk, and Hatfield, by his reckoning, was the only governor who refused to support the Administration's Vietnam policy at governors' conferences in 1965 and 1966.

Since coming to the Senate, Hatfield's criticism of American involvement in Southeast Asia has sharpened and is comparable in substance, if not in temper, to that leveled by his Democratic colleague, Wayne Morse. On March 16, Hatfield told the Young Republicans at Harvard that the country is following a distorted map "deliberately misinterpreted . . . to justify our present involvement." On television April 9, he lashed out at "the war party, the war Administration that exists at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. . . ."

The last time Hatfield saw Vietnam was in September 1945. As a 23-year-old veteran of amphibious landings on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, he commanded a landing craft sent to Haiphong to ship Nationalist Chinese troops, who had marched overland, to Chinwangtao on the north coast where the Chinese Wall meets the sea. There the Nationalists were to fight the Red Chinese. He recalls the elegant French palace on a hill above the city, below it the shabby huts of the Vietnamese, and women digging into the earth for grains of rice that sifted through the army's supply sacks. Cholera broke out among the Chinese on his ship, bodies were dumped into the sea, sick men were carried off the ship on stretchers only to be dumped half alive in piles on the ground. "They say communists are beasts, cruel and sadistic," Hatfield now says, "but we don't have to act that way. We hear the military talking about the kill ratio – 'it was better today'. This sounds like the game commission talking about animals."

The war is personal to him. He was visited recently by one of his former students, back from carrier duty off Vietnam, who told him of sagging morale among navy pilots. "We're bombing rope bridges. Can you imagine that?" Hatfield exclaimed. "Historians will say we have lost more than manpower and matériel and prestige in Vietnam; we have contributed to the erosion of the value of man."

He argues as follows: "Demands of a government for the support and acquiescence of a sound, well-meaning people, under the guise of emergencies and crises, bring the rise of certain subtle tyrannies"; information begins to be withheld from the people; dissenters are accused of being "soft on communism or undermining our boys out there." Government invades all facets of life – "it's like George Orwell's *1984*."

Hatfield grew up in a small town during the depression. His father, a railroad blacksmith, had a part-time job; his mother, a teacher, was paid in warrants. Families worked together, canned foods, picked fruit in orchards on shares. "We ate dandelion greens, which aren't bad if they're seasoned right. Lots of times stewed tomatoes and bread was a full meal. We were taught self-sufficiency. I'm not a rugged individualist, but I was influenced by my background."

Hatfield attributes his Republicanism to family habit and to the environment of Western GOP progressivism of the Hiram Johnson-William Borah kind. He was a Young Republican in high school and at Willamette University, a private school across State Street from the capitol in Salem, Oregon. After getting a master's degree at Stanford, he returned to Willamette as instructor in political science and was elected to the state legislature. For six years, he literally worked both sides of the street, with advancements on both sides – to the state senate and to associate professor and dean of students. He moved across the street permanently in 1958 when, at 36, he was elected secretary of state. A few months earlier he had married Antoinette Kuzmanich, dean of women at Portland State College and daughter of a longshoreman. In midterm as secretary of state, Hatfield ran for governor against the Democratic incumbent, was elected, then reelected in 1962 by majorities that exceeded the Democratic plurality in registration. He became the second governor in Oregon's history to survive two complete terms, which is the limit allowed by law.

His senatorial campaign had two themes: his record and "Courage," a not-so-subtle reference to his dissenting Vietnam views. His opponent, Democratic Congressman Robert Duncan, supported the Administration down the line and was the strongest opponent Hatfield ever had. Hatfield won by 24,000 votes among 659,000 cast.

Thus far, he has been as quiet in the Senate as behooves a freshman. His first floor speech was about

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Hatfield on LBJ

As far as I know, the President has never publicly acknowledged an understanding of the extremely complex and delicate position the North Vietnamese are in with regard to negotiations. The North Vietnamese war effort is very dependent on the flow of military and consumer goods from Red China. It is doubtful that Ho Chi Minh could long continue his current role in this civil war if he alienated the Red Chinese and supplies were cut off. Ho is forced, therefore, to respect to some degree the wishes of the Chinese. The Chinese have made it quite clear that they would like to see the war last indefinitely and are delighted over the possibility of the United States committing more and more of her resources to fight a land war in Asia. They, obviously, are opposed to any attempts by Hanoi to reach a negotiated settlement. If Ho was interested in negotiations, his public position would still necessarily be tough and hard-line in order to appease the Chinese. The President must demonstrate an understanding of this and, when presented with a sharply worded statement from Hanoi, he must not continually misinterpret these communications to the American people in terms of, "See here, the scoundrels don't want peace."

I believe the President's conditions for the establishment of peace talks are unrealistic and we should expect that Ho Chi Minh will continue to reject them. Mr. Johnson has stated that before we will consider stopping the bombing of the North, the North Vietnamese must first stop the infiltration into the South. . . . From Ho Chi Minh's viewpoint, that is the equivalent of complete surrender. If Ho were to comply, he would face two alternatives. He could abandon his 50,000 troops in the South and stop sending them food, medicine and military supplies; without such support, these forces would soon be destroyed and the North Vietnamese role in the war would be eliminated. Or, second, he could recall his troops to the North but this would constitute a withdrawal from the conflict. If Ho met our terms in order to get negotiations going, he would have nothing left to negotiate about.

I do not believe we will secure Ho's surrender this easily. Nor do I believe that there will ever be negotiations if we continue to bomb North Vietnam. The President's demands have little relation to realistic expectation. To continue pressing these conditions demonstrates either insensitivity or indifference to the requirements of effective negotiations.

MARK O. HATFIELD
April 4, 1967

timber. He introduced, without co-sponsors, a bill to end the draft by July 1968, but its impact was lost because its introduction coincided with President Johnson's own draft bill. He was one of a minority of eight Republicans to vote twice for cloture. But by far the most interesting side to him has been his deepening dislike of the Administration's decisions on the war and Republican acquiescence. "To say the war is 'above politics' is a completely unrealistic approach," he contends. "This issue transcends all, and it's not unrealistic to talk about it. We don't have a truly bipartisan foreign policy. Republicans should be part of the architectural phase, not the after-the-fact briefings." He believes, "absolutely," that Republican senators should protest.

When Edward Brooke of Massachusetts reversed his stand on the war, Hatfield was surprised, but unmoved. "I've expressed my position since 1964. I've expressed it consistently, and defended it in a hard campaign. I've fought too long and too hard; I'll remain true to it."

Hatfield is a moderator in his home town Baptist church, a speaker at church meetings and conventions. Like Romney, he neither drinks nor smokes, and like Romney, he has been criticized for overdoing the piety bit. Hatfield's chauffeur told a church group a few years ago that he and the governor frequently stopped by the roadside to kneel and pray. But the senator believes that "religious involvement is the thing that provides the tranquil life. When you make a decision, you move on to the next, and you don't stand around and worry about the last one."

Since the start of his second term as governor, there has been speculation that he would some day like to be Vice President, and ultimately President. He nominated Richard Nixon in 1960 and delivered the keynote address at the 1964 Republican convention. He might have been the vice presidential nominee in 1964 had Nelson Rockefeller led the ticket; his support for Barry Goldwater was lukewarm, but he gave it. He is available, but not pressing: "I don't expect a position on the ticket with anybody. I'm not even located here yet."

Which is literally true. The senator and his staff of 14 share one committee room, which also must accommodate stacks of filing boxes, reams of stationery, filing cabinets, a coat rack, telephone directories, piles of newspapers, and partly partitioned areas for himself and his administrative and legislative assistants. The staff has been in this room in the Old Senate Office Building for three months, ever since indignant Senate wives drove them out of the basement-level room where ladies have been wrapping bandages since 1917. When they all move to a suite in the far corner of the far building, the present office will become Bobby Kennedy's mail room.

THOMAS S. STIMMEL

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Algerian Socialism's Slow Leak

Algiers

Despite the wave of nationalizations following independence nearly five years ago, Algerian socialism is hard to take seriously. For one thing, it has no economic plan. One is promised this year, though lack of statistics will make it largely an exercise in guesswork. Land reform scheduled for last year had to be postponed when private landowners threatened not to plant their 18 million acres. An effort at self-management by workers of factories, farms and small businesses has been a fiasco, and many have been quietly returned to private ownership, to the outrage of the hard-lining labor union. Typical of Algeria's economic pragmatism is the national oil company – SONATRACH – which has hired American and Russian oil men, formed joint drilling and geophysical companies with American firms and last year negotiated a $15 million loan from Bank of America and Manufacturer's Hanover Trust.

Colonel Boumediéne doggedly makes speeches in classical Arabic, but they are incomprehensible to most Algerians until translated into either the local patois or French. Egyptian teachers were brought in to push Arabization in elementary schools, but the program failed because their pupils could not understand them. Mosques have been built throughout the country since 1962, but Sunday, not the Islamic Friday, is the day off for government and business.

But if he cannot give Algeria a true Arab socialist identity, Boumediène has given it 21 months of desperately needed stability. To all appearances, this has been accomplished without any serious abrogation of civil rights, though one of his first moves after taking over in June 1965, was to suspend the constitution and National Assembly. He has purposely not taken the title of president. His official post is president of the 24-man Revolutionary Council, which has become the supreme authority. Army officers form the majority on the Council, and the government could not make a move the army disapproved. Thus the balance of power, always precarious, between the FLN and the *Armée Nationale Populaire*, has shifted in favor of the latter.

Austere and shy, Boumediène (whose exact age, in this secret-ridden country, is not known) quite possibly would be glad to step down in favor of a civilian leader in whom he had confidence. But once burned, twice cautious: it was he who entered Algiers at the head of his troops and opened the way for Ben Bella in September 1962, after the newly independent nation erupted into internecine strife. Meanwhile, there are signs he may be developing a taste for power. The last two months have seen the first large photographs of the colonel – in mufti – posted in the capital. The colonel has kept his post as defense minister, and the army has fared exceeding well. Compared to September 1963, when Moroccan troops easily defeated Algerian units in a brief border conflict, Algeria today has the best-equipped armed forces in Africa, after Egypt and South Africa. The Soviet Union has sent an estimated $180-million worth of military hardware, including T-34 and T-54 tanks, armored personnel carriers, MIG fighter planes, light jet bombers and transports, rocket-launching patrol boats and SAM missiles. About 1,000 Russian military personnel are in Algeria as advisers; another thousand Algerian officers and enlisted technicians have been trained in Russia. The government justifies spending 30 percent or more of its budget on its military by pointing to the "expansionist ambitions" of Morocco. As if on cue, King Hassan II voices Moroccan claims to southwestern Algeria regularly enough to lend Boumediéne unwitting support.

Economically, the slow downward spiral that began in 1962, when nine-tenths of the French population pulled out in panic, is continuing. Rush-hour traffic jams in Algiers give a surface impression of prosperity, but the government acknowledges that less than 50 percent of the active male population is employed, either full or part time. It relies heavily on emigration of Algerian workers to Europe (800,000 are there, 20 percent of the active population) to reduce unemployment, improve its balance of payments and provide job training. The $200 million sent home annually is more than the country derives from all foreign aid or even its Saharan oil.

Algeria is pinning its hopes to petroleum production, which last year went from 26 million to 34 million tons of crude, thanks to a new, 500-mile, 28-inch pipeline. SONATRACH, the first attempt by an oil-rich third world country to prospect, produce and market its own petroleum, is well-managed. The general investment climate could not be worse. When I asked a prospering truck owner in Kabylie recently why he did not buy another truck with his profits, he replied, "It's better to remain small. That way you're safe."

The people are weary of politics, skeptical of promises. Municipal elections last February drew an 80 percent vote – there was a choice between two candidates, both cleared by the FLN and the army, for each seat in the Peoples' Municipal Assemblies – but many Algerians said they saw no point to one-party elections. What they want is work, and eventually the transistor radios and automobiles so favored by the country's budding middle class. For the majority, the goal is not *la révolution révolutionnante*, but the quickest possible *embourgeoisement*.

Joseph Harriss

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *West Side Stories*

Everyone professionally concerned with new fiction, in publishing or in criticism, has his own heartache list – books that never got the attention they deserved. These lists do not comprise lost masterpieces; they are simply good art that is worth the time of a discerning reader. High on my list of neglected good fiction of the last decade is a first novel by Norma Rosen, published in 1961, called *Joy to Levine! It was warmly, if not widely, reviewed,* and was read by very few – just as if every week brought a new nearly perfect small gem of pathetic comedy, so we could afford to ignore Mrs. Rosen's book.

Possibly the description of its subject, even by an enthusiast, discourages people. The novel deals with the fumbling romance of a shy young Jewish man and a fat Jewish girl in a moldering Manhattan office. As soon as we read that, we immediately file the novel under "New York Jewish" or "poetry-in-squalor," and forget it. But Mrs. Rosen's novel is unique: fresh, delicate, with no smug reliance on Jewishness in its readers and no exploitation of literary vogue. Imagine the innocence of early 19th-century American painting – say Hicks' *The Peaceable Kingdom* – combined with an experience of Kafka and applied by an utterly feminine hand to a Bronx-West Side-Fourth Avenue milieu, and you approximate the clean but complex texture of this novel.

The matter of Mrs. Rosen's first work is raised, happily, by the publication of her second book.* *Green* collects a novella and eight stories, and, again, to describe them is possibly to dissuade readers. What, another Jewish writer? More stories about first-generation New York Jews out of Brooklyn, bound to the West Side and the suburbs? True, but insufficient. Mrs. Rosen writes thoroughly out of roots and experience, but the fact that most of her characters are Jewish, that the chief locale has been used for *Seize the Day* and much besides – all this is, in a quite serious sense, irrelevant. One gets the surrealist image of Mrs. Rosen as a *spirit* who happens to have pushed through to visibility in New York-Jewish guise and idiom. The spirit might as easily have come out Irish or Iranian, and its effect would ultimately be the same. The quintessence that remains with the reader is not inseparably Jewish, as it is with much of Bellow and most of Malamud: it is *generally* feminine, tender, with a discreet but quite austere strength.

It would be a disservice both to her and to potential readers to suggest a stature that is not in her. Her talent is not towering. What is pleasant is that, probably consciously, she knows this and addresses herself, not to small subjects but to large subjects on a scale that she can handle. It is not timidity of enterprise (which Updike sometimes suggests). She is willing to wrestle with angels and lose, but she leaves the archangels to others.

Mrs. Rosen's general theme – greenness – is in her title, and she uses examples from the OED as an epigraph, to show the various meanings of unripeness that she intends. Her novella, itself entitled "Green," deals with one kind of maturing. A young wife lives on the West Side with her young artist-husband and their two small children. Life is neither easy nor hard, but their lack of luxury is emphasized by her sister's second marriage to a wealthy man and by the offer of a plump advertising job to the artist. The theme is that American moral invention, the sellout. Never in the history of art – up to here and now – has there been such exaltation of the choice between purity and commercialism: as if it *were* an absolute choice, as if most of the good artists in history had not also done work at various times sheerly for money. So disproportionate and misconstrued has the subject become that contemporary artists, in every art, seem to expect some kind of praise or reward simply because they never do anything commercial – if that happens to be the case. (And nowadays there are plenty of money rewards for the pure, anyway, in university posts and foundation grants, so they can take the cash and let the credit grow.) If one is a serious and devoted artist, the sellout problem never arises, or else it fits immediately into humorous proportion. (Faulkner and his Hollywood scripting.) If the problem becomes grave, then that fact is itself the answer to the problem.

Mrs. Rosen may not have reasoned her theme in this manner, but she reaches a conclusion that does not see the temptation as a temptation. Her heroine moves from a sacrosanct horror of the advertising offer to a general acceptance, not of moral sloth but of moral reality: a realization that vestal virginity is *per se* no guarantee of artistic merit or vitality; that moral maturity is the ability to handle life, not to disdain it.

As the job looms larger in front of the couple, two questions persist in the wife's mind: "How should we live?" "Shall we begin to weigh everything?"

> "Although the answer [to the first] eluded them, the question had in it an upwardness, a lightness of breath and aspiration. The other, the 'Shall we begin to weigh everything?' was heavy, deadly heavy, a stammering wrenched from the here and now. . . . It was the practicalness of weighing that led people to choose from among choices that were neither beautiful, nor desirable, nor good. It was the destructiveness of weighing that led them to these things, despite the revulsion of their hearts. . . . She reached over and touched his fingers.
>
> 'The question is,' he said, 'how could we begin to weigh everything?'
>
> 'And how could we begin' – she leaned forward like a supplicant – 'to speak of how we should live?' "

That is how the novella ends – when

(Continued on page 38)

* *Green* by Norma Rosen (Harcourt, Brace & World; $4.95)

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How Sick Is Sick?

by Thomas S. Szasz

What is the proper study of Man? Ought man to be studied as the physicist investigates matter – by examining the forces acting upon and between certain entities (electrons, atoms; ids, egos) that compose large wholes (rocks, planets; persons, groups)? Or ought man to be studied as the historian, the philosopher, or the novelist investigates human life – by examining and portraying man's past and future, his beliefs and actions, his relations to his fellow man and the world about him?

Psychoanalysis Observed
edited with an Introduction
by Charles Rycroft
(Coward-McCann; $4.50)

What is psychoanalysis? Is it a natural science, like physics? Or is it a humane study, like history? Freud, in effect, said it was both: His aspiration to be recognized as a medical scientist and therapist required that he define his work as a type of natural science, lest it be dismissed as quackery; at the same time, the subject of his inquiry and his incorruptible honesty compelled him to recognize his work as similar to that of the novelist and the minister.

As early as 1884, Freud writes to his fiancée ". . . I am becoming aware of literary stirrings when previously I could not have imagined anything further from my mind." About ten years later, in *Studies on Hysteria*, he writes: "It still strikes me as strange that the case histories I write should read like short stories and that, as one might say, they lack the serious stamp of science. I must console myself with the reflection that the nature of the subject is evidently responsible for this, rather than any preference of my own." Two decades later, in his analysis of Wilhelm Jensen's *Gradiva*, he goes even further: "Imaginative writers are valuable colleagues and their testimony is to be rated very highly. . . . Jensen has given us an absolutely correct study in psychiatry."

On the other hand, in 1895, he writes to Fliess: "One evening last week . . . I had a clear vision from the details of the neuroses to the conditions which make consciousness possible. Everything seemed to connect up, the whole worked well together, and one had the impression that the Thing [the mind] was now really a machine [sic] and would soon go by itself." In 1933, in *The New Introductory Lectures*, he writes, apropos of the psychoses: "It is here, indeed, that hope for the future lies: . . . Our knowledge of the operation of the hormones . . . may give us the means of successfully combating the quantitative factors of the illnesses. . . ." *The Outline of Psychoanalysis*, his last piece of writing (left unfinished in 1938) shows how important a mechanistic image of "mental life" was to Freud. "We assume," he writes, "that mental life is the function of an apparatus to which we ascribe the characteristics of being extended in space and of being made up of several portions – which we imagine, that is, as resembling a telescope or microscope or something of the kind." Causal explanations abound: "A surplus of sexual aggressiveness will turn a lover into a sex-murderer, while a sharp diminution in the aggressive factor will make him bashful or impotent." He declares that ". . . In the course of our efforts at building up psychoanalysis, we have also made important biological discoveries. . . ." And he even asserts that, "The hypothesis we have adopted . . . has put us in a position to establish psychology on foundations similar to those of any other science, such, for instance, as physics."

These passages illustrate a continuous tug of war between the humanistic and the mechanistic approaches to the study of man and between Freud's concept of psychoanalysis as a moral science and as a natural science. Freud never fully committed himself to either perspective; instead, he vacillated between them and sought to embrace both.

This admirable little book seeks to overcome this fateful inconsistency built into psychoanalysis. In recasting psychoanalysis from a mechanistic and deterministic mold into a linguistic and ethical one, Rycroft and his collaborators not only successfully separate the psychological wheat from the physicalistic chaff, but also offer, both the specialist and the intelligent layman, an account, at once understandable and penetrating, of what psychoanalysis is really about. Theirs is a signal achievement.

The introduction by Charles Rycroft, a prominent British psychoanalyst, is aptly titled: "Causes and Meanings." It sets the theme and indicates the means by which we may avoid the dilemma that has plagued not only Freud but social scientists generally. The psychoanalyst's choice need not be between mimicking physics and engineering, or throwing in his lot with the pure subjectivism of poets and the naïve enthusiasm of faith-healers. Physicists (and other natural scientists) study events that have causes. Psychoanalysts (and certain other social scientists) study experience and conduct that have meaning. Simple? Yes. A new dichotomy, instead of between body and soul, determinism and free will, this time between happening and action, reflex and conduct? Yes. A new set of terms for the old Cartesian dualism? No. As the proof of the pudding is in its eating, so the value, or harm, of a theoretical perspective is in its consequences. The reader can, and must, evaluate the consequences entailed by the humanistic and nonmedical perspective of the authors (and of other workers to whom they look for support, among them Ronald Laing in England, who has sought to combine psychoanalysis and existentialism; in

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Freedom and Order in the University

Edited with an Introduction by Samuel Gorovitz

Here is the conflict between the desire for individual freedom and the need for social order, with particular emphasis on problems arising out of this conflict within the university.

The contributors are Paul Goodman, Walter P. Metzger, Sanford H. Kadish, John R. Searle, and Mortimer R. Kadish. Four of these men have had first-hand experience with the crises at Berkeley. **160 pages, $2.95 paper $5.75 cloth**

Education and Politics in Suburbia

By Louis H. Masotti

This book is an account of what happened in an upper-income community on Chicago's North Shore to convert apparent consensus on building a second high school into open conflict – and then back to consensus. The actors in this "suburban drama" are the school board, citizen groups, a Big Ten university, the superintendent, and three manufacturing companies.

The assumption that public education is somehow "beyond politics" is rejected. Political activities – the exercise of influence, bargaining, and negotiating – are clearly a real and integral part of the educational policy-making process. **188 pages, $5.50**

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Edited by Leonard Pearson

Our society conceals death, disguises it, embellishes it, or ignores it. Death is our taboo. But the processes of death are concurrent with the processes of life. In this book five scientists examine the pyschological, sociological, and physical nature of death. They speak frankly about the dying person himself, the effects of his death upon the family, and the issues involved in professional attempts to deny him the opportunity of reconciling himself to his own death. **145 pages, $1.95 paper, $4.00 cloth**

Abortion and the Law

Edited by David T. Smith

There are in the United States each year about four million live births, one million spontaneous abortions, and one million induced abortions. Of the one million induced, only ten thousand, or 1 per cent, occur in hospitals, and probably 90 per cent of these abortions are *not* in strict accordance with the law. *Abortion and the Law* examines the question of abortion, both criminal and therapeutic. The focus of the book is legal, but because it is impossible to discuss abortion at all without giving some consideration to its ethical and medical aspects, the essays study these as well. **248 pages, $7.00**

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2029 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44106

this country, I myself have endeavored to show, in Rycroft's words, "that the idea that the neuroses are diseases with causes is a social fiction . . ."). And he must compare these consequences with those entailed by the mechanistic and medical perspectives of certain other psychoanalytic and psychiatric writers.

Rycroft calls attention to the fact that the work Freud considered his most important is entitled *The Interpretation of Dreams*, not *The Causes of Dreams*. In his analytic work, moreover, "What Freud did," observes Rycroft, "was not to explain the patient's choice causally but to understand it and give it meaning, and the procedure he engaged in was not the scientific one of elucidating causes but the semantic one of making sense of it." Although this is what Freud *did*, he often *said* (as we saw) that he was elucidating the "determinants" of behavior.

In addition to clarifying the basic distinction between the causal and the rule-following explanations of conduct, each of the contributions in this refreshing volume abounds in sound observations and incisive comments. Here is an example. Discussing the ostensibly psychoanalytic advice given to parents regarding child-rearing, Rycroft writes: "The idea that children should be treated lovingly and humanely is one that does not require any scientific, medical, or psychological backing and can be arrived at without reference to psychoanalysis or, indeed, any other body of knowledge." Imagine a young psychiatrist putting this into his application for a research grant.

The first of the four essays which comprise this book is by the well-known British anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer. Gorer criticizes psychoanalysts for overselling their knowledge and skill; for "analyzing" the creations of artists and poets as if they were real people; and for holding out the claim that in art, morals, and politics they have "access to wisdom denied to ordinary mortals." His criticism is well-informed and constructive. Gorer knows what psychoanalysis is and what it can do; and he wants to save it from its enemies, both foreign and

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domestic. Again, a single example must suffice. Gorer notes the application of psychoanalytic concepts to criminology and law – if only he were familiar with the situation in the District of Columbia! – and observes that these concepts are "above all exculpatory: 'It's not my fault I'm a bad boy.' . . . I know of no studies to show people are not *really* responsible for their heroism or piety, their diligence or their integrity. Psychoanalytically tinged explanations are invoked for failures not for successes." Gorer's essay alone (running to a mere 27 pages) renders much of the debate about the Durham rule and other standards of criminal responsibility utter nonsense. If evil is nullified by bad upbringing, so is virtue by good upbringing. Why, then, do we continue to reward meritorious conduct? The parallel is faulty, of course. For acquittal by reason of insanity is, in fact, not the exoneration of badness, but merely a new, especially sadistic form of punishment of it.

The second essay, by the psychoanalyst Anthony Storr, is on "The Concept of Cure." Briefly, the argument here is that mental illness is not a form of disease; hence its modification, especially by psychoanalysis, is not a form of treatment. In Storr's words: "Psychoanalysts are habitually dealing with a clientele . . . which is not necessarily ill in any definable sense. . . . This difficulty [what, then is being treated?] can, I believe, be resolved, if we cease to regard psychoanalysis as a treatment comparable to medical or surgical treatment."

The third essay, by John Wren-Lewis, a theologian and industrial scientist, is entitled "Love's Coming of Age." Wren-Lewis has many fresh and cogent things to say, among others about the "streak of moral sadism which the psychoanalytic movement has inherited from traditional religion." He compares the psychoanalytic tendency to try "to make people feel small" with "the traditional theological castigation of man for sinful pride."

The concluding essay, "Psychoanalysis – Freudian or Existential," by Péter Lomas, the third analyst-contributor to this volume, is a sound critical exposition of contemporary trends in psychoanalysis, and a suggestion for a synthesis of what he considers best in the field. Lomas ends on much the same note on which Rycroft began: Neurosis is the meaningful creation of a person, not the causally determined effect of a physico-chemical process in the brain.

Where does this perspective leave psychoanalysis (and, by implication, nonorganic psychiatry)? It removes psychoanalysis from biology and medicine, and discredits it, as indeed it ought to be discredited, as a natural science and as a species of medical treatment for mental illness. Instead, it places it in a class with sociology and law, with ethics and politics, and gives it the recognition it so richly deserves as a moral science and as a species of educational assistance for persons who have problems in living.

For the layman who wants to find his way through the morass of psychiatric and psychoanalytic writings, I cannot think of a recent book I would more highly recommend. For the professional – especially for the physician who believes that "mental illness is like any other illness"; for the psychotherapist who believes that he knows how "mental patients" ought to live; and for the legislator and jurist who believe that psychoanalytic "knowledge" can form the "rational" basis for lawmaking and courtroom decisions – this book is an indispensable antidote for the psychoanalytic arrogance that infects the contemporary American social scene.

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Politics for the Unpolitical

by Richard Harwood

Long ago half-educated newspapermen who were not in every case morally superior to Willie Sutton snickered to one another that the only way to look at a politician was down. It was a cynical and, perhaps, simple-minded attitude but somehow it was preferable, I think, to what has replaced it. Our habit today, especially in Washington, is quite different. We tend to endow the government and the politicians who run it with a mystique of superiority; to assume that they know something we don't know and to assume, further, that what goes on in the endless rabbit warrens of the federal bureaucracy is, in some indefinable way, a higher form of human endeavor which deserves our respect if not our obeisance.

Anti-Politics in America
by John H. Bunzel
(Knopf; $6.95)

Carrying that proposition to one extreme, Secretary Robert McNamara has suggested with a straight face that every American youngster owes a year or two of his life to the State. Senator Thomas J. Dodd has given another twist to the mystique with the argument that he is entitled to public charity on a grand scale *because* he is a United States Senator.

Notions of that kind are not peculiar to this time and place. Kings have always claimed divine rights and have always expected knee-bends from the masses. The rationalizations they have employed have been tailored to the historical circumstance.

Today it is the "national interest," meaning the war in the Vietnam, that is most often invoked to control dissent and induce a popular acceptance of official wisdom. Those who resist these controls are given various labels; John Bunzel, a professor at San Francisco State College, calls them "anti-political" and he has written a book about them.

He detects an anti-political temper among the Birchers, the students of the New Left, the Socialists and Communists of the Old Left, among Quakers and other species of pacifists in our midst. It disturbs him, although it is not clear why that is so.

The anti-politicals, ranging from Robert Welch to Stokely Carmichael have in common, the professor maintains, three characteristics:

They are, first, morally absolute in their view of man and society. They are, second, disillusioned by the American political "system" and the people who run it. Finally, they refuse to play the political game according to the rules and, hence, are ineffectual.

"Preoccupied with their own social diagnoses and cures," Mr. Bunzel writes, "they are distrustful of politics. They cannot abide its mediocrity and are unconcerned with accommodation and conciliation. . . . Like political religionists of every faith, they insist on the best possible good and will not settle for the best good possible. . . . They reject politics as a way of getting things done because it does not represent unequivocal evidence of moral excellence. They fail to understand that politics is nonmoral."

On the Far Right, the Birchers accept the theory of Communist Conspiracy in Washington and are ready to "jettison constitutional processes and to suspend liberties, to condone Communist methods in the fighting of Communism." The Left is no less simplistic. It believes in "a monolithic structure of power and influence" (*à la* Wright Mills) that can be eradicated only by throwing out the "System" on which the structure rests. Pacifists are equally naïve because "it would be a difficult matter to run a democracy in which each individual's duty of civil obedience ended at the point where it conflicted with what he felt was the 'conscientious' course of action. It would be a most unstable democracy wherein each citizen could decide for himself whether or not or when he would pay his taxes, serve in the armed forces" etc.

What should be done?

"What I am trying to suggest," Mr. Bunzel writes, "is that a 'democrat'

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must have a loyalty to the democratic political process." Further on: ". . .Politics is an indispensable requirement for self-government in a free society. . . . Politics is an activity to be valued in itself, and as such cannot be transformed into an orderly arrangement of ideas and beliefs or a set of predetermined goals. Above all politics is a way of resolving individual and group conflicts in a free and open society with the least amount of coercion."

It all reads like a Jack and Jill primer from the American Political Science Association but I am not at all sure what the Message is. Presumably it is that "concerned" people should get active in the precincts for the Republicans or the Democrats, because that is what our "political process" is all about. Any other course is (a) anti-political and (b) ineffectual.

The question that is really being raised is whether a peace demonstration, let us say, is more or less consistent with our democratic traditions and practices than the writing of a tax bill in Washington through the normal processes of politics. Professor Bunzel obviously believes that the politics of consensus in which a few lobbyists sit around the White House or a congressional committee room making decisions is preferable to the cacophony of the mob. It is a more orderly and a more efficient way to conduct the public business, to be sure. I doubt that it has more to do with democracy, however.

Wars of Religion

by Roger Hazelton

In order to understand the impetus, not to say the animus, behind this book it is necessary to know something about recent Jewish-Christian relations. Especially it should be kept in mind that the era of polite pluralism resting on mere tolerance is already past and that some serious grappling with what this book's jacket calls "the crucial, non-negotiable differences" is just beginning. This is borne out by an increasing number of books, conferences, and pronouncements by religious bodies on the subject. We may expect the going to get tougher as the crucial differences are exposed and sorted out on both sides. At this juncture, therefore, Rabbi Bokser's comprehensive, candid treatment of the issue is welcome.

Judaism and the Christian Predicament
by Ben Zion Bokser
(Knopf; $6.95)

The author is convinced that present Christian efforts to disavow anti-Semitism and to encourage friendlier relations with the Jewish people are commendable but insufficient, because of failure to meet and face doctrinal tensions. Jews and Christians interpret their common heritage, the Hebrew Bible, in decidedly contradictory ways. The very term "Old Testament" gives offense to Jews, as it implies that Christians regard this body of religious literature as but a preparation for their own faith which is Judaism's true fulfillment. Furthermore, Christians persist in ignoring the fact that Judaism is a living world faith and not simply a historical stepping-stone to Christianity; hence they need to be instructed as to its complex development from biblical times to the present. Finally, any hoped-for reconciliation between Christianity and Judaism must be based upon mutual respect for the true faith shown in both religions; acceptance of the principle of religious coexistence is required as the ground of any fruitful dialogue.

All this the author says forcefully and well. A Christian reader can only be grateful to him for pointing out so plainly such things as the evidence of anti-Jewish feeling in New Testament writings, the misinterpretations which turn the Hebrew Bible into a "weapon against Judaism" in church tradition, and the shameful history of ghetto and pogrom, suppression and persecution which darkly stains the Christian record. To attempt to deny any of these

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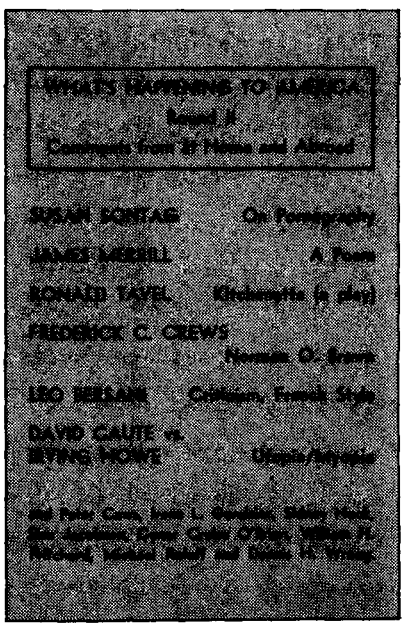

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facts would simply be protesting too much, thus strengthening the Jewish case against Christianity.

From a non-Jewish viewpoint the most valuable portions of the book are probably those which describe the growth of post-biblical Judaism. Here Rabbi Bokser is on assured ground, presenting history and not an argument. Even so, a difficulty is introduced which seems to militate against one of his major themes elsewhere in the book. He has roundly criticized "conventional Christianity" for its misunderstanding of Judaism as "legalism," and yet his own expositions of the Oral Torah suggest that this may not have been such a misunderstanding after all. He writes: "The Bible required clarification. . . . Its prescriptions needed minute analysis because they were deemed authoritative and were invested with the mandate to regulate and direct life." But that is just what Christians mean, and have meant all along, by *legalism* – which tends to confirm the impression that the issue is a real one, not forced or arbitrary, as between Jewish and Christian uses of the common Scriptures.

Rabbi Bokser's motivation in the book appears to be fundamentally polemical. He never sets aside the role of prosecuting attorney for long. "Jewish-Christian tensions," he asserts, "derive from a mythical conception of the Jew and from a distorted conception of Judaism." This means, in light of everything that he has said before, that it is Christians and not Jews who are and have been responsible for these tensions. Without presuming to deny the considerable amount of truth in his allegation, one may nevertheless voice the hope that more openness and generosity will characterize the Jewish-Christian dialogue which has begun so promisingly. To be sure, justified resentments must be aired and heard, but there is no future in the trading of traditional charges back and forth. A common ground of faith, if not of doctrinal agreement, awaits our exploration and celebration, such as comes to light in Robert Gordis' fine volume *Judaism in a Christian World*.

A great deal of attention is devoted to a critical examination of the traditional Christian view that Jews were chiefly responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus

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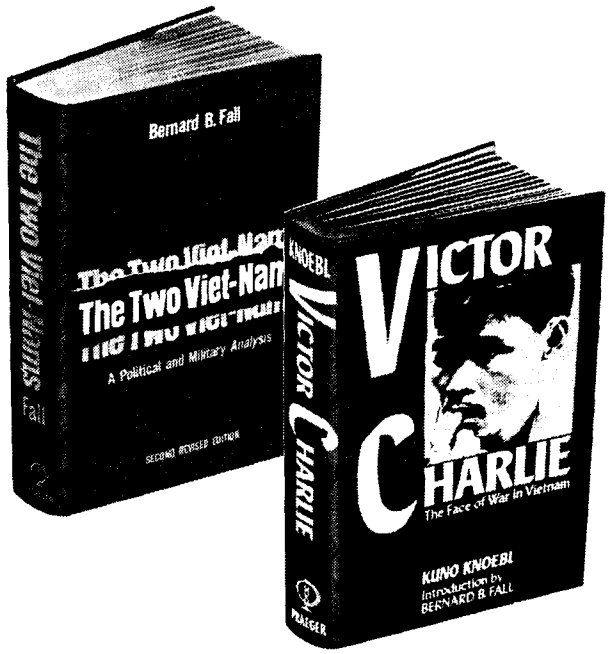

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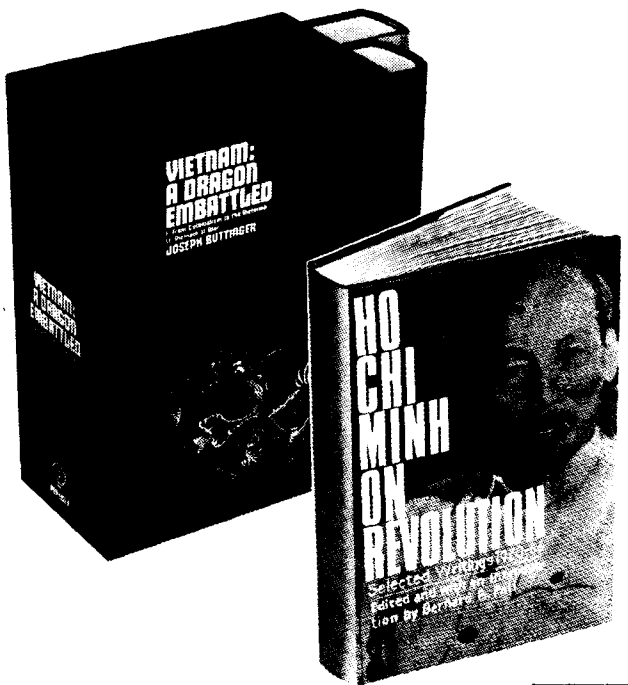

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and so guilty of "deicide." The declaration of the Second Vatican Council on the subject, Rabbi Bokser claims, is not contrite enough. Although the declaration does leave much to be desired from both Jewish and Christian points of view, it was historically necessary and morally urgent that this forgiving gesture should have been made. Churches, like sovereign states, find it difficult to confess their faults in public. Also, it is humanly impossible to absolve and repent at one and the same time. Yet the Vatican declaration is a better document, all things considered, than Rabbi Bokser thinks it is.

I also find it somewhat illogical that he should insist on denying the reality of corporate, inherited guilt on the part of Jews for the crucifixion while tending strongly to impute the same kind of guilt to world Christianity for permitting the ghastly holocaust of Nazism. "Christianity's failure to save man from lapsing into bestiality" is certainly a matter for the keenest remorse; but is this not Judaism's failure too? It would be better, I think, to drop what Rabbi Bokser terms the fiction of corporate, inherited guilt altogether.

There is, indeed, a Christian predicament with regard to Judaism; there is also a Jewish predicament with regard to Christianity, as this book demonstrates. As a compelling statement of Jewish reaction to the long and bitter history of Christian anti-Semitism Rabbi Bokser's work could scarcely be improved upon. He promptly dispels any lingering illusions as to the efficacy of good will alone, or of pragmatic cooperation for purely secular ends, in the removal of Jewish-Christian tensions. He makes it abundantly clear that in the absence of an honest confrontation between these two diverse approaches to man's being under God there can only be continued misunderstanding and resentment on both sides, however masked by religious indifference.

I wonder, though, if anything is to be gained by the sort of polemics which can label Christianity a "Jewish heresy." What keeps me stubbornly hopeful is the fact that the crucial differences appear to be softening instead of hardening in our time. The dialogue now going on may reveal that the two faiths are not as far apart as they have always supposed. It may even bring about a new awareness of unity arising from converging religious insights. But issues must be sharpened if they are ever to be joined, just as the deepening of conviction involves its being chastened as well.

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THEATRE

Notes from the Underground

Gorilla Queen
by Ronald Tavel
(Martinique)
Galileo
by Bertolt Brecht
(Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center)

Attending a performance of *Gorilla Queen* is like being present at a particularly rambunctious drag ball – the evening is as fruity as a nutcake. Emboldened by the popular success of Camp, Pop, and the Underground Film, the homosexual mafia has now decided to advance the sexual revolution another step by exposing its privates in that most public of places, the theatre: The move is both audacious and carefully prepared. The author of *Gorilla Queen* – a former script-writer for Andy Warhol named Ronald Tavel (he calls himself "the Lamar Trotti of Underground Films" – has even issued a programmatic document called "The Theatre of the Ridiculous" in which he defines the terms of the movement, locating its influences (Art Nouveau, Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures*, the movies of Maria Montez, and Psychedelic Art), explaining its name ("We have passed beyond the absurd; our position is absolutely preposterous"), and analyzing its "pasty" and "moldy" derivations in the nether regions of rough trade. Although Tavel's language is the inflated prose of the autodidact ("so far as I could sensate," "For me it is a claimant of joy in the witness of human freedoms") and his spelling and sentence structure are incredibly slipshod, he is protected against conventional criticism by the subliterate form in which he works: As a character in *Gorilla Queen* remarks, "Hastiness in creation is at the core of camp." Besides this, like most Pop artists, he has tapped a virtually bottomless well of material, and he brings to his plays an irritating but quite genuine wit.

The audience at *Gorilla Queen* is composed mostly of Madison Avenue queers on a slumming tour; their laughter is nervous and uneasy. Homosexual theatre in America has hitherto been rather subterranean, and so the openness of this work comes as a bit of shock to those accustomed to the codes and disguises employed on Broadway. Still, for all the refreshing novelty of *Gorilla Queen*, its honesty

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is not a sufficient antidote to its single-mindedly sexual emphasis, and I came away from the play feeling as if I had been pounded into the ground by a particularly merciless jackhammer. Tavel's method is based exclusively on faggot parodies of Grade B jungle flicks from the thirties and forties, using men in most (not all) of the female roles. A character named Karma Miranda does suggestive South American dances, wearing a basket on her head into which she deposits bananas; a lesbian named Paulet Coldbare is threatened with jungle sacrifice until it is discovered that burning her will raise the "smut pollution count"; a prissy Clifton Webb-type nun called Sister Carries, dressed in a grass skirt and a vinyl bib, leads a chorus of obscene gibbons called Glitz Ionas (bad Yiddish pun intended) who sit around scratching their crotches and singing off-color songs. The action moves along propelled by a series of outrageous double entendres and word quibbles, and revolves around a gigantic male gorilla named Queen Kong, who first appears in a hair suit and black basketball sneakers, with sequins on his nipples and a diamond tiara on his head, swinging on a rope and flicking a limp paw at the audience. Some of this is amusing enough (the idea of a queer King Kong is inspired), but the puns soon get extremely fatiguing, probably because they are so relentlessly anal in origin (She: "I abide in a small grass-ass shack," He: "I'd like to enlarge your place"). It's as if a baggy pants burlesque routine had been inverted for homosexuals and then extended two or three hours past its normal length.

Inversion, in fact, is not only the method but the entire subject of this playful author: Tavel uses the theatre exclusively for the purposes of advertising queerdom. Homosexual exhibitionism is given full rein, and the theatrical masquerade is self-consciously reduced to a single transvestite function ("How do you feel about theatre now?" asks one character, to which another answers, "It's a drag"). Similarly, all heterosexual activity is either aborted or mocked. An animal trainer named Clyde Batty, one of the few straights in the pageant, fondles the breasts of a native woman named Taharahnugi

He never tasted milk

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White Woman – but the breasts are false and the woman is a man. Karma Miranda is nuzzled by a queer Chimney Sweep who is later caught up in the oral embraces of a female Venus Fly Trap. And Clyde himself is pursued by Sister Carries and the Glitz Ionas ("We'll homogenize this hetero yet"), finally being raped by Queen Kong and giving birth to another gorilla.

Since the performance is as abandoned as the writing, and quite as amateur, it is impossible to evaluate it: Once again, the planned awfulness of Camp makes criticism seem irrelevant. The more apocalyptic among us will probably view *Gorilla Queen* as one more crack in the disintegration of Western civilization, and they are probably right: In Tavel, one can certainly see the rough beast beginning his slouch (it is ironic that the overture to the play is Schiller's humanistic *Ode to Joy* in the setting of Beethoven's *Ninth*). But the humanism being murdered in *Gorilla Queen* was already dying in the forms from which Camp draws its inspiration – bad movies, television, and the comic strips – and the paradox of the evening is how frequently the parody begins to approach the reality. In production numbers like "Doing the Cockamamie" and "Doing the Frigedelic," for example, Tavel's burlesque becomes virtually indistinguishable from Broadway musicals, thus demonstrating once again how close our Bohemia is to our Suburbia. *Gorilla Queen* shows us the American Caliban looking into a mirror, enraged at what he sees there, but still unable to recognize his own features.

Fashioning one of those crisp, competent productions about which nobody can get excited either way, the Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center has turned Brecht's Galileo into a "hit," but I'm afraid this success is of small significance. Galileo is a harmless work, with a conventional episodic structure and an unexciting central character. It is generally admired by those who don't usually like its author, primarily because it allows the audience, through the exercise of hindsight, to feel superior to the Church which tried to suppress Galileo's discoveries (it is unlike Brecht not to indicate to the audience that it, too, would probably have shown Galileo the torture instruments). Although the author displays here his usual infatuation with Science, and is less ambiguous than usual about the power of Reason, even his relatively small doubts have been buried in the present production through the cutting of the final scene, where some small boys continue to believe in witches, despite the patient explanation of Andrea about the evils of superstition.

Anthony Quayle, as the eponymous hero, is patient, articulate, earnest, rather dull. He lacks gusto and appetite: you would never tell from his performance that Brecht's Galileo was partially inspired by Charles Laughton throwing chicken bones over his shoulder in the movie of *Henry VIII*. His voice remains at "acting" pitch throughout the evening, and his rationalistsic, explanatory tone begins to pall after a while. Still, he is a solid and knowledgeable performer, and forms a center of professionalism around which the rest of the company is able to collect. John Hirsch has directed with a swift sense of pace, a fluid sense of movement, and a colorful sense of pageantry. James Hart Stearns' costumes, and Robin Wagner's setting – a series of metal scaffolds behind a raked platform – are excellent, and the performance is nicely modulated throughout. All in all, a clean and comfortable production which never permits the great untidy appetites of the play, or of life itself, to break through.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Thomas S. Szasz *is professor of psychiatry at the Upstate Medical Center of the State University of New York and the author of several controversial books, including* The Myth of Mental Illness *and* Law, Liberty and Psychiatry. Richard Harwood *is a national correspondent for* The Washington Post, *currently in the process of completing his book,* The Mugwump State, *which will be published by the New American Library.* Roger Hazelton *is Abbot Professor of Christian Theology at Andover Newton Theological School.*

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MOVIES

Celtic Spring, Swedish Summer

Joyce wrote *Ulysses* in the form of a movie and that's probably why so many people, including Joyce himself, thought it should be made into one. In the modern novels which are influenced by movies the novelists describe what the characters say and do and where they are and what they see but rarely what they think. (And when they do think it's not likely to be about

Ulysses (Walter Reade)
Persona (Lopert)

abstract or large concepts but very specifically – almost, one might say, photogenically.) But how does one photograph intellectual pride? Pride can be photographed (Autant-Lara did it in the Michèle Morgan-Françoise Rosay section of *The Seven Deadly Sins*), but *intellectual* pride? Zinnemann did it in the sequence of *The Nun's Story* when the nun was told to fail her examinations, but that was a simpler kind and there were actions planned to dramatize it. Joyce gives us the drama within Stephen's consciousness. The movie *Ulysses* can provide the meeting between Stephen and his sister when she is buying the penny French primer, but what made us *care* about that scene in the novel – the agenbite of inwit – is missing.

The actor Maurice Roeves looks like Stephen-Joyce, but we can't see the guilt and emotion and mind that made him an artist. Leopold Bloom (Milo O'Shea), who is easier to represent, takes over – the everyman whose thoughts are of food and sex and daily affairs. But how does one photograph *thoughts* about food or desire? Watching Bloom fry a kidney is a reminder of the passage beginning

> "Mr. Leopold Bloom ate with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls. He liked thick giblet soup, nutty gizzards, a stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with crust-crumbs, fried hencod's roes. Most of all he liked grilled mutton kidneys which gave to his palate a fine tang of faintly scented urine."

For those who don't know the passage it is only a dear, funny little man frying a kidney. Or, much worse, we see Bloom watching Gerty McDowell, and without her fantasies we have nothing.

The movie is an act of homage in the form of readings from the book plus illustrated slides, and though it has no life of its own, it provides some interesting facsimiles of Joyce's characters (Buck Mulligan, particularly), and some of the readings are very good. The movie clarifies the physical actions of the book – the comings and goings in town and night-town, providing a surface map of the novel. A man of intelligence and taste, Joseph Strick could probably be an excellent movie producer. As a director, his ambitions are co-ordinate with his taste rather than his talent. He has taken few liberties with the material except the basic liberty of attempting it: conceptually this movie is so respectful, so pedestrian, so ordinary it might have been made by O'Shea's gentle cuckold Bloom. But, Everyman, why should we go with thee? We've already been there with Raimu and Pagnol and all those others who tried to convince us that those who lived close to the soil were warm, witty, and wise.

In one sense, perhaps the best thing about the movie is its total inadequacy: it shouldn't result in any damage to our feelings about the book because the images in the movie aren't strong enough to supplant our own. The visual imagery is uneven but mostly banal and weak, and the editing

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rhythm is both static and jerky: visually the movie never comes near to achieving an acceptable rhythmic equivalent for Joyce's prose. On the sound track are the lines we want to hear and it's good to be reminded of them, but they don't have the weight they had in the novel. They are merely quotations from a classic, well selected, intelligently read.

There is a widespread assumption that a film version of *Ulysses* must be an important film. But a movie director doesn't become great by association. Joseph Strick has gone from one brothel-world to another – from *The Balcony* to *Ulysses* – and he has succeeded only in becoming culturally respectable. *The Balcony*, visually even flatter than *Ulysses*, had some sex drive in it. His *Ulysses*, though it's explicit in images and words, *is* respectable – which doesn't mean that this is an occasion for rejoicing about how-far-we-have-come. Although as lovers of the book we should be indebted to Judge Woolsey for his famous decision of 1933 which permitted us to obtain it lawfully, I never believed his concluding statement that "nowhere does it tend to be an aphrodisiac." He cleared it *legally* of exciting "sexually impure and lustful thoughts" and so we are grateful to him for all the gloriously impure, lustful thoughts we've had while reading it. But the movie is so lacking in sensuality that it's no wonder it has escaped prosecution. The great dirty book of our time has been made into a dull movie. There's nothing in it to get excited about.

There is a brief passage in Ingmar Bergman's *Persona* – Bibi Andersson tells about a day and night of sex – that is so much more erotic than all of *Ulysses* that it demonstrates what *can* be done on the screen with told material. We do not need to see images of the beach and the boys and the return to the fiancée that she describes because the excitement is in how she tells it. Bergman has the capacity to create images that set off reverberations: in the early part of *Illicit Interlude* an old woman appears for just a moment on a road – walking – and this image, like the croquet game in *Smiles of a Summer Night*, seems to be suspended in time. In moments like these, Bergman is a great artist. In *Persona* Bibi Andersson's almost fierce revery has that kind of beauty. As she goes on talking, with memories of summer and nakedness and pleasure in her words and the emptiness of her present in her face, we begin to hold our breath in fear that Bergman can't sustain this almost intolerably difficult sequence. But he does, and it builds and builds and is completed. It's one of the rare, truly erotic sequences on film.

Bergman's movies have almost always had some kind of show within the show: a ballet, a circus, a magic show, a bit of animation, many pieces of plays and even whole plays. In *Persona*, as in the very early *Prison*, Bergman involves us in the making of a movie. He gives us a movie within a movie, but he seems hardly to have made the *enclosing* movie, and then he throws away the inner movie. (I thought I even *felt* it go – at the repeated passage, when the director seems to be trying an alternate way of shooting a sequence.) It's a pity because the inner movie had begun to involve us in marvelous possibilities: an actress (Liv Ullmann) who has abandoned the power of speech is put in the care of a nurse (Bibi Andersson); and the nurse, like an analysand who becomes furious at the silence of the analyst, begins to vent her own emotional disturbances. In the dramatic material the women don't change identity; it is merely their roles that change as the nurse becomes hysterical and uncontrollable. But the two look very much alike, and Bergman plays with this resemblance photographically by suggestive combinations and superimpositions.

Most movies give so little that it seems almost barbarous to object to Bergman's not giving us more in *Persona*, but it is just because of the expressiveness and fascination of what we are given that the movie is so frustrating. Though it's possible to offer interpretations, I don't think that treating *Persona* as the pieces of a puzzle and trying to put them together will do much more than demonstrate ingenuity at guesswork. It's easy to say that the little boy reaching up to the screen is probably Bergman as a child; and he may also represent the nurse's aborted baby and/or the ac-

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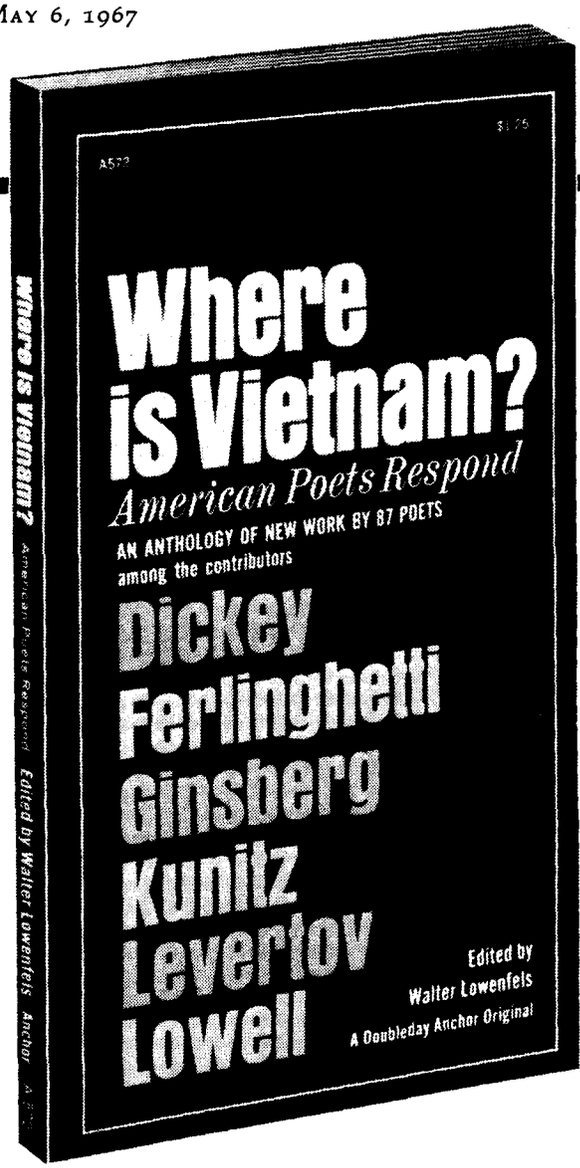
tress' rejected son. But for this kind of speculation (and one would have to go through almost every image in the movie this way) to have any purpose, there must be a structure of meanings in the work by which an interpretation can be validated; I don't think there is one in *Persona*. If there is, it is so buried that it doesn't function in the work. We respond to the image of the little boy – not because he's Bergman or an abortion but simply in terms of the quality and intensity of the image – but we don't know why it's in this film.

It may be that an open puzzle movie like this one, which affects some people very profoundly, permits them to project into it so much of themselves that what they think the movie is about has very little to do with what happens on the screen. This kind of projection – which we used to think of as the pre-critical responsiveness of the mass audience – is now common in the educated audience. People can be heard saying that they "didn't worry about whether it was good or bad," they "just let it happen to them." And if the educated audience is now coming around to the larger audience's way of seeing movies, I would suggest that they are also being sold in the same way as the larger audience, that advertising and the appearance of critical consensus it gives to certain movies are what lead people to "let" certain prestigious movies "happen to them," just as the larger audience lets an epic musical spoof like *Thoroughly Modern Millie* happen to them. The idea is that "art" should be experienced, not criticized. There seems to be little sense that critical faculties are involved in experience, and that if they are not involved, advertising determines what is accepted as art.

If people watch a lot of television or go to lots of movies, they become connoisseurs of garbage and start recommending slightly superior garbage as if it were *good*. This is an occupational hazard of movie critics. Last year, friends to whom I recommended *Modesty Blaise* were furious, and I understand why: it's easy for those who haven't seen the worst to be appalled by the better; they expect it to be really good. And so I'd better say that



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although I enjoyed Sidney Lumet's *The Deadly Affair*, I enjoyed it in the context of a lot of much worse movies. To be avoided are *Hombre, Gambit, Hotel, A Countess from Hong Kong*; discriminations about pictures like these are degrading – sanitation engineering, not criticism. So bad it is in a class by itself: *Hurry Sundown*, because it purports to be about something. Two movies that are rather impressive: Vilgot Sjoman's handsome *My Sister, My Love* and, from Hungary, *Age of Illusion* by the young Istvan Szabo – on the remarkable subject of the aspirations and defeats of the young bureaucrats and scientists in a communist society. PAULINE KAEL

Correspondence

Pot

Sirs:

Cornell, unlike Wayne State, is described by David Sanford ("Pot Bust at Cornell," April 15) as a hard-line school (one which cooperates with local officials and which imposes additional sanctions). This is an overstatement, and despite cries of paternalism, Cornell is, for reasons of size and policy, a permissive school. The administration has sought to protect students from outside "interference" as President Perkins' attitude in the *Trojan Horse* (free speech) incident should indicate. Furthermore, much-maligned Proctor George has often interceded with officials to save students from the very real handicaps of a criminal record. Yet, Proctor George is portrayed as D.A. Thaler's stooge.

This whole discussion highlights a much greater issue of town and gown relationship, which Mr. Sanford touches upon only lightly. Perhaps D.A. Thaler (by the way a graduate of Cornell) takes an Eichmann-like attitude towards the law or is propelled forward in his investigations by political motivations, but one must also realize that many members of the rural populace are out of touch with and suspicious of the prevailing norms of campus life. This statement is not made in praise of this attitude, but a definite cultural lag exists in this area. To many, Cornell is a puritan's version of hell, and they are not altogether incorrect.

But the real problem here is not the university or the locals but the students themselves. On the one hand, they expect to reap the benefits of maturity, while on the other they wish to hide under the penumbra of the university buildings. This Janus-headed attitude is inconsistent to say the least. Rather, if the students wish to throw off the shackles of university guardianship, they should accept the realities of the "outside world" and stop clamoring about "interference" from without. Otherwise, if they wish to avail themselves of the benefits of academic protection, there should be a corresponding willingness on their part to treat the university administration as more than a Kafka-like apparition of a bureaucratic father figure. . . .

Henry S. Hacker
Ithaca, N. Y.

I have just read and enjoyed David Sanford's article "The Risks of Marijuana" (April 22).

If the cigarette capitalists had discovered pot before the underground discovered it, and before the bluenoses outlawed it, not only would it be legal today, but it would be sold from vending machines bearing the sign "Minors are forbidden to purchase from this machine." If marijuana had replaced both cigarettes and alcohol, we would certainly have been better off than we are with lung cancer, heart disease, and hangovers.

As for our all-wise, benevolent legislators, I wish some of them would smoke some pot, or take some LSD trips; their minds could use a little expansion. *Rex D. Osborne*
Lansing, N. C.

Speaking as college students who have smoked marijuana for several years and have just recently been "busted," there are several points we would like to add to your recent articles on this topic. We proffer the suggestion that justice in this country is distributed with regard to economic status and race. We were very fortunate in that we are white and sufficiently wealthy to buy an extremely competent lawyer, who in turn was able to buy us our freedom. During our brief tenure in jail we came into contact with many who did not meet the criteria for justice. Consequently, these people were ignored and left to rot in a roach-infested hole, while we were hastily escorted through the maze of legal red tape. The fact that we had been apprehended with a very small amount

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of marijuana also helped to expedite our release. However, many of the people with whom we came into contact had committed crimes no more dangerous or noteworthy than ours. Yet because they have no money, no families, and/or the wrong color skin are suffering maximum penalties.

Carol Adams
Jo-Ann Parker
Westchester, Md.

Millions for Mississippi

Sirs:

Professor Charles Black seems to be slightly outraged that $65 million would go to Mississippi under the revenue-sharing plan (see my article, "Money for the States," April 8). It is he who must be living in a paradise, because Mississippi in his country is so free of racism that the federal government deems it deserving of grants amounting to more than $150 million annually. Or is he in favor of scuttling the $17-billion federal grant system (which helps Negroes and other poor people everywhere) in order to cut funds off from Mississippi?

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act denies federal funds to states that segregate. This title would apply to revenue sharing grants, as it does to other grants. I should not have to remind Law Professor Black that enforcement of Title VI now begins *after* certification by the appropriate state and local officials, and I merely suggested that the same procedure should apply to revenue-sharing grants.

Joseph A. Pechman
Yale University

Juvenile Justice

Sirs:

Congratulations to Judge Bazelon for bringing to public attention once more the plight of juvenile justice in the life of Morris Kent. ("Justice for Juveniles," April 22). Six years ago a seriously disturbed 16-year-old Negro youth was forced to stand trial as an adult criminal. Today, six years later, a 22-year-old young man is still being punished as a criminal as he faces a 10-year sentence for housebreaking and robbery in the event that he is released from St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

Although there is a bit of Eichmann in all of us – as we excuse our own responsibility towards Morris Kent – we can raise some questions. How long will the courts continue to tolerate the punishment of Morris Kent because the community (Juvenile Court) did not provide means and facilities for his treatment as an emotionally disturbed juvenile in 1961? How long will the courts wait until they admit an honest review of judicial procedures that denied due process or constitutional guarantees to Morris Kent? Our judicial system and our community deserves to be haunted by the unraised question: Suppose Morris Kent were the child of white affluent parents? After six years I am personally haunted as a citizen and clergyman by a young man's constant inquiry '. . . is there *any* hope?'

Rev. Geno C. Baroni
Archbishop's Committee
on Community Relations
Washington, D. C.

Chief Judge David Bazelon's article requires elucidation in several respects. As a third-year law student in the District of Columbia who has observed and studied their juvenile court system, I feel compelled to clarify some of the points raised therein.

The juvenile court in the United States today is in a definitional and jurisdictional quandary; its purposes upon founding were to provide "treatment and rehabilitation," not to "punish" or "protect society." It was to act as parens patriae and to foster the child's best interests. Why, then, was it called a "court" and not "welfare institution" or something similar? Obviously, retribution had an early and profound effect on the development of the juvenile court system.

Clearly, the juvenile court system as presently established seeks sociological solutions to legal problems. The court must function as a court with *all* constitutional guarantees applicable to juveniles or it must function as a rehabilitative institution with full educational and psychiatric resources available. The hybrid system in effect at present has produced many abuses whereby youths have been sent to dreary institutions for several years on such vague charges as being "de-

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linquent" or "uncontrollable" and have returned to society more hardened than when they entered. . . .

Judge Ketcham of the District of Columbia Juvenile Court obviously recognizes that some youths at ages 16 and 17 stand a better chance for rehabilitation if they are subject to the jurisdiction of the US District Court. No doubt, a term in Lorton Penitentiary with opportunities to learn a skill would in many instances be more suitable than a term at the poorly equipped National Training School.

An item appearing in *The Washington Post* on Friday, April 21, is a clear-cut example. A 17-year-old boy preferred to stand trial in District Court for an offense carrying a maximum of three years imprisonment. To him, four years in the National Training School was a worse fate. The boy's attorney (who "represented" the youth by opposing the waiver which the boy *and* his mother sought!) admitted that "society has not provided anything approaching the facilities needed to help this boy. . . ."

Let the press assume the responsibility for "awaken[ing] our consciousness to the fact that there is a promise." The bench and bar are better suited to reassessing the role of the juvenile court, demanding increased appropriations to meet the requirements of adequate treatment and insuring that each youth is afforded the best possible care – whether in Juvenile or US District Court.

William L. Gardner
Washington, D.C.

Doctors' Bonanza

Sirs:

Edward T. Chase's "The Doctors' Bonanza" (April 15) is a clear and succinct description of the present situation with respect to the increasing costs of physicians' services. *The New Republic* is to be congratulated on bringing this society's demand for punishment and timely and important information to the public while Congress is still in session considering new amendments to the original Medicare legislation of 1965. . . . On March 13, 1967 the Physicians Forum presented testimony to the House Ways and Means Committee in Washington emphasizing several aspects of the cost crisis in medical care. Our testimony strongly recommended that the fees of hospital-based specialists be covered in part A, Title XVIII of Medicare. The recent "Report to the President on Medical Care Prices" has noted that x-ray and laboratory specialists' charges have shown unusual rises since the advent of Medicare.

The statement of the Physicians Forum before the Ways and Means Committee pointed out the pitfalls of the laissez-faire fee-for-service concept: (a) Physicians are in a seller's market, because the number of doctors has not kept pace with the increased demands for their services; (b) Physicians' charges under Medicare are based on the prevailing charges in their geographical area outside the Social Security system; (c) With such an open-ended system in a seller's market, the only direction for fees is ever upward.

The Physicians Forum recommended to Chairman Mills and his Committee that patterns of health care such as group practice on a prepaid premium basis, national compulsory health insurance or a nationalized health service must be thoroughly explored if we are to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Lytt I. Gardner, M.D.
National Chairman,
The Physicians Forum,
New York, N.Y.

In "Doctors' Bonanza" Mr. Chase states that the sharpest escalation in doctors' charges in recent years includes radiologic fees. This is not true.

In September, 1966, the American College of Radiology surveyed a random sample of its membership, 300 radiologists who have been in practice since 1946, in regard to charges to patients. . . . During the 20 years since 1946, radiology charges to patients have increased about *one-third* as much as the overall Bureau of Labor Consumer's Price Index, *one-fifth* as much as the overall rise in medical care costs, and *one-twentieth* as much as hospital charges. . . .

Mr. Chase also criticizes the independent billing of the doctor's professional fee and hospital costs in radiology stating that this has created administrative problems for Medicare. This is true, but these problems are of the same quality and kind as many others that have arisen in the administration of this vast new medical care and hospitalization program. Further, if this division of the former single charge into two portions is continued, and if this method of charging is applied to all patients – as seems most likely at this time – then we can confidently predict a lowering of total charges to patients for radiologic services. This is because, as Mr. Chase put it, "For most hospitals, the radiology department is a big money-maker." When hospitals are required under the terms of Medicare to derive only reasonable costs from the department and physicians are permitted only reasonable and prevailing fees, then total charges to patients will be reduced in the practice of radiology. We think that those who would amend Medicare so as to place radiology back into the terms of hospital service, an area in which charges have "escalated" 400 percent in 20 years, are doing the American public and patients no favor.

William C. Stronach
Executive Director
The American College of Radiology

War and the Constitution

Sirs:

It is all too common in the 20th century to forget that there were compelling reasons why the Framers of the Constitution in 1787 circumscribed the power of the executive to declare war. Your article on Lincoln and his opposition to the Mexican-American War of 1848 plus the letter to his partner, quoted by a correspondent, remind us that their fears were justified. Lincoln's point in the letter to Herndon was exactly anticipated in the following letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson in 1798, in which Madison is referring to President John Adams' actions toward France:

> "The Constitution supposes, what the History of all Governments demonstrates, that the Executive is the branch of power most interested in war, and most prone to it. It has accordingly with studied care, vested the question of war in the Legislature. But the Doctrines lately

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THAT HE AGREED THAT TWENTY YEARS OF COLD WAR HAD TURNED US RACIST, COLONIALIST, AND CORRUPT -

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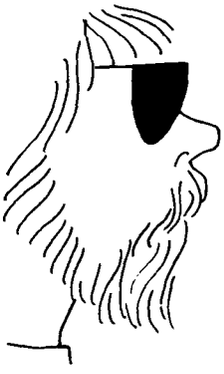

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advanced strike at the root of all these provisions, and will deposit the peace of the country in that Department which the Constitution distrusts as most ready without cause to renounce it. For if the opinion of the President not the facts and proofs themselves are to sway the judgment of Congress in declaring war, and if the President in the recess of Congress create a foreign mission, appoint a minister, and negotiate a War Treaty, without the possibility of a check even from the Senate, untill (sic) the measures present alternatives overruling the freedom of its judgment; if again a Treaty when made obliges the Legislature to declare war contrary to its judgment, and in pursuance of the same doctrine, a law declaring war, imposes a like moral obligation, to grant the requisite supplies until it be formally repealed with the consent of the President and Senate, it is evident that the people are cheated out of the best ingredients in their Government, the safeguards of peace which is the greatest of their blessings."

Ann S. Sheldon
Claremont, California

Pot Shots

Sirs:

The author of your unsigned Washington piece, "Pot Shots at Culture," (April 29) declares that "the politics of comics deserves study." Without exception, however, the examples he has cited and the language he has used lead me to believe that he has not been studying the comics, but rather studying *The Reporter* – "New (Sob!) Trends In The Comics," by Martin F. Nolan, December 29, 1966. No credit line, no quotation marks – nothing.

Meg Greenfield
Washington Editor
The Reporter

In Reply:

Loren Ghiglione, who submitted "Pot Shots at Culture" to *The New Republic*, apologizes that he relied on research material supplied by a reference service on "what cartoon characters were doing in politics," but failed to check sources. – THE EDITORS

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

it is apparent to both that he will take the job; more accurately, that the job will *happen* to them. They have realized that in the choice is loss, but that every choice is a loss of some kind, and life is a succession of choices. But accompanying this sadness is a sense that, with lessening rigidity, more life is possible in what is left to one of life after the choice.

Like most of Mrs. Rosen's writing, the novella is remarkable for, among others, two qualities. The first is her ability to realize men, especially noteworthy in a writer of intrinsically feminine sensibility. The husband breathes and loves from the moment he appears. The second is the way she plunges into sentiment, confident that genuineness and distillation will keep her from sentimentality. (Only occasionally – in a few of the stories – does this control lapse.)

Of the eight short stories, I think two are failures: "Pack My Bag" and "George Wag in New York." The first, about a young widower, illustrates what is possibly Mrs. Rosen's chief weakness. When she devises action as analogue to her theme, it is sometimes too patently analogous. (In the novella the action allows the theme to reach us, it does not self-consciously dramatize.) The second, about an innocent discovering depravity, seems synthetic and imitative. But the three stories in the section called "Green With Child" form a small middle-class diadem. Although names and characters change, they all deal with a young West Side mother, her newborn baby, and a Jamaican nurse. "Sheltering A Life" is chiefly a portrait of the nurse, well done: a person so new to the young mother as to be almost as much of an event in her life as her first child. The two others, "Plantain Shoot, It Want to Die" and "What Must I Say to You?", bring large, boundless themes – universes of mortality and immortality – into those slightly shabby, rent-controlled apartments.

At the last this is Mrs. Rosen's fundamental power: "to see a world in a grain of sand." She is a modest prose Blake of upper Broadway.

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Two books FREE *(circle numbers)*

3955	5383	8686	7177	8590	3945
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(write in number and title) _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Please be sure to indicate correct zip code. BO67

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